DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 159 680 CS 204 335

AUTHOR	Varis, Tapio; And Others
TITLE	International News and the New Information Order.
INSTITUTION	Tampere Univ. (Finland). Inst. of Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	77
NOTE	154p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$8.69 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Broadcast Industry; *Developing Nations; Foreign Countries; *Global Approach; Information Networks; *Journalism; Media Research; *News Media; *News Reporting
IDENTIFIERS	*International Communication

ABSTRACT

The international research project, "Transnational Communication," has concentrated mainly on the role and impact of transnational corporations in international communications, and the effects of creating a new international information order; this report presents papers summarizing three particular aspects of the world information order that were produced as by-products of the research project. The first paper describes the international broadcast system in Europe and its relation to the developing countries and their broadcast news sources. An analysis of Associated Press coverage of the first Intergovernmental Conference in Communication Policies held in Costa Rica in 1976 is covered in the second paper. The third paper, which deals with the Inter Press Service (IPS) as a source for alternative news, is a description of a particular type of news agency which is mainly operating in the third world countries. Appended tables present the newspapers which have published IPS materials and how much material they published in 1976, the subject areas IPS reports and analyses have dealt with, and the subject countries of IPS reporting published by various newspapers. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED159680

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Tapio Varis -
Raquel Salinas -
Renny Jokelin

INTERNATIONAL NEWS AND THE NEW INFORMATION ORDER

39/1977

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Tapio Varis, Raquel
Salinas, Renny Jokelin

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

ISBN 951-44-0649-4
University of Tampere
1977

TIEDOTUSOPIN LAITOS

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM
AND MASS COMMUNICATION

TAMPEREEN YLIOPISTO · UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE
KALEVANTIE 4 · 33100 TAMPERE 10

CS204335

CONTENTS

PREFACE

1. EUROPEAN BROADCASTING AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER (Tapio Varis) 1
    - 1.1. Historical background 2
    - 1.2. Global Context of European Broadcasting 3
    - 1.3. News Exchange and Broadcasting Unions 6
    - 1.4. New Order in Global Perspective 10
    - 1.5. Film-Agencies and the Developing Countries 12
    - 1.6. From Cologne to Cairo 14
    - 1.7. News Content in the New Order 19
    - 1.8. News Sources and the New Order 21
    - 1.9. Conclusions 24
    - References 27

2. NEWS AGENCIES AND THE NEW INFORMATION ORDER (Raquel Salinas Bascur) 29
    - 2.1. Introduction 29
    - 2.2. The search for a New Information Order and the news agencies 33
    - 2.3. Some remarks on the Latin American context and the Associated Press 38
    - 2.4. The AP coverage of the Intergovernmental Conference held in Costa Rica, July 1976 46
        - 2.4.1. The main actors of the week 46
        - 2.4.2. The resolutions and related debates 54
        - 2.4.3. The Inter-American Press Association as presented by AP 68
    - 2.5. Conclusions 71
    - 2.6. Some critical remarks on the alternatives for change 73
    - Bibliography 86

3. ALTERNATIVE NEWS: A CASE STUDY ON 'INTER PRESS SERVICE" (Renny Jokelin) 89
    - 3.1. Political background 91
    - 3.2. Periods of development 94
    - 3.3. The service 98
    - 3.4. The contents of Inter Press transmissions 101
    - 3.5. Consumption of Inter Press material 105
    - 3.6. Summary 109
    - Appendix 112

PREFACE

An international research project "Transnational Communication" began in 1976 at Tampere University with the support of Academy of Finland and UNESCO. This project has been concentrating mainly on two aspects of international communication: the role and impact of transnational corporations in international communications, and the efforts of creating a new international information order. Although the project has employed only one full time researcher (Tapio Varis) the Academy of Finland has made it possible to have part time research assistants to work in the project. The present paper summarizes three particular aspects to the world information order which were produced as by-products of the research project.

Tapio Varis′ contribution on European broadcasting and new information order was originally prepared for an international seminar "International Communications and Third World Participation: A Conceptual and Practical Framework", which was organized by Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET) in Amsterdam, September 5-8, 1977. It aims at describing the international broadcast news system in Europe and its relation to the developing countries and their broadcast news sources.

Raquel Salinas′ paper on news agencies and the new information order is an analysis of Associated Press′ coverage of the first Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies held in Costa Rica in 1976. This empirical study was necessary in order to understand how the transnational news agencies behave in this particular news case which mainly deals with their own affair: international information and communication policies. It is also obvious that in the development of UNESCO activity, the Costa Rican conference is historical. We want to express our gratefulness for the original research material of this study to Dr. Luis Ramiro Beltran, Head of the Regional Office for Latin America of the International Development Research Centre (Bogota), and to Dr. Jorge Canelas, Head of the Associated Press Office in Bogota, who gave the original AP wires of this event for our disposal.

Renny Jokelin's paper on Inter Press Service as a source for alternative news is a description of a particular type of news agency which is mainly operating in the third world countries. By this contribution we want to stimulate research and awareness of new sources for international information, and we would very warmly expand our analysis to include all Non-aligned countries pool systems. We are very thankful to Mr. Roberto Savio, Managing Director of Inter Press Service, and to the whole staff of IPS for their assistance and help to carry out this study in the headquarters of IPS.

Tampere 17. September 1977,

Tapio Varis
Docent

TAPIO VARIS:

EUROPEAN BROADCASTING AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER

Historically the European powers have played a central role in the global structure of communications. They have had numerous economic, commercial, and cultural relations with the whole world and they have been first to react to any changes in world politics. But it would be wrong to speak of Europe as one unified political area because different socio-economic processes have led European countries to behave very differently in world politics. In the European information structure there has been two main characteristics with regard to the new international information order: both qualitative and quantitative imbalance in the flow of information both between different parts of Europe, and between Europe and the developing countries.

Many of the European news media (like the news agencies) have their origin in the colonial past of European powers. During the first half of this century the revolutionary changes in Europe brought into existence different socio-economic systems in their immediate geographical neighbourhood. This fact determined some of the basic features in the formation of information and cultural relations of European countries with different socio-economic systems. The international context of approaching the problems of information and culture has in Europe been international peace and security rather than problems of information as such. Most recently this has been demonstrated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and also in the Nonaligned movement which besides other developing countries has some active members also in Europe.

1.1. Historical background

Although the concept of "new international information order" refers to the attempts of creating more balanced flow of information between the developing countries and the industrialized world, one could also speak of new information order in Europe. In fact the flow of information between different parts of Europe itself has very much been imbalanced and often non-existent.

After the revolution in Russia the political, economic, military and cultural relations between countries had a new basis, but existence of a socialist government was not accepted by bourgeois governments. The creation of the first socialist society in Europe started the Cold War in mass communication.[1] In the beginning the Soviet Union supported wide cultural relations with other countries. For example, American films were shown in the beginning of the 1920's in the Soviet Union and Soviet films were also shown in Western countries.[2] However, the severance of the capitalist-socialist relations led to economic, military, diplomatic and even cultural isolation of the Soviet Union and there was no development in the information exchanges between the different systems.

But the Russian revolution influenced development also outside Europe, particularly in Asia nad Africa. The Anti-Imperialist League was founded in Moscow in 1924 and it organized the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels in 1927. This congress brought together many of the intellectuals of the developing world who sought joint basis for their struggle against colonialism and oppression. This congress has been regarded as a forerunner of the movement of Non-aligned countries.[3]

In the new period of the Cold War, following the Second World War, the cultural and information relations between the different social systems began to show some signs of development only at the end of the 1950's and during the 1960's. The interest of the Socialist countries in using information and culture from Western countries has been wider than vice versa.[4] In some areas of mass communication, like in the flow of news-film, the only global news-film agencies are Western European and North American and also the Socialist countries subscribe to their services. A great deal of film information from the developing countries to Europe come through film agencies.

Discussions on the new international information order have been very much concentrating on news agencies and news flow. This has much relevance to European mass communications, particularly to broadcasting, because Europe has highly developed exchange systems for broadcast news both for individual television stations and transnational news-film agencies. The pressure to improve both the quality and quantity of news from the developing countries has been one of the central issues of the recent international meetings. Europe has also three big news agencies, Reuters, AFP, and Tass, and some smaller agencies which, however, are important. Also the coordinating agency of the Nonaligned pool, Tanjug, is based in Europe, as well as the "third world news agency" Inter Press Service (although these two are mainly serving other parts of the world).

1.2. Global Context of European Broadcasting

Because of its nature, broadcasting - especially world television - has turned out to be a very effective medium for international communication. In many regions of the world cooperation between different broadcasting systems has been very developed within broadcasting unions, especially for the exchange of news. Also in the developing countries like in the Arab region new systems have been developed for the improvement of the flow of information.

The functional cooperation of broadcasting unions is most advanced in Europe due to technological and political factors. But the European experience also shows how the almost universal beginning in world broadcasting cooperation within a union splits into separate unions representing the blocks of Cold War with no cooperation. Increasing cooperation is arising at a time when the developing countries begin to be more and more important for European broadcasting.

In April 1925, the European broadcasters established the International Broadcasting Union (IBU) to promote and defend the interests of broadcasting. With the exception of the Soviet Union, European broadcasters and broadcasting stations from other parts of the world became members of IBU. By the end of the 1930's IBU had already 59 members, including North American broadcasters. The exchange of radio programmes took place through IBU.[5]

Later, IBU was claimed to have become too much of a propaganda forum for the Nazi Germany in the Second World War which was not acceptable to many countries, especially not to England. After the Second World War the activities of IBU were continued, but it was not able to fulfil its function. In the new situation both the members of IBU and the United States and Soviet Union were planning a new union. The Soviet Union was particularly active in drawing the outlines of a new organization. The new union, OIR, was founded but England was not satisfied with the arrangement. In addition to the formal disagreements, a new wave of the Cold War was dividing European broadcasting into two opposite blocks.

IBU did not cease its work and it continued to exist in 1946-49 in addition to OIR. The British BBC did not belong to either of the two unions. Finally in 1949 eleven Western European broadcasters withdrew from OIR, and only the Socialist countries and Finland remained in OIR. The organization changed its headquarters from Brussels to Prague, and the name was changed later with the introduction of television in 1959 into International Organization for Radio and Television (OIRT). The Western broadcasters convened under the leadership of the BBC to England in 1950, when the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) was founded. EBU headquarters was in Geneva and technical center in Brussels. Thus EBU was from the beginning a regional union although its membership has expanded in the Mediterranean area, and its associate members are all over the world. OIRT, on the contrary, has always been a global union including today countries like Mongolia and Cuba and a number of other non-European countries which, however, are not able to participate in the daily exchange.

Television news exchange within the unions takes place through Eurovision (EBU) and Intervision (OIRT). Eurovision was founded in 1954 for the television cooperation within EBU, and today there are three daily exchanges within Eurovision members. In news exchanges through Eurovision the transnational news-film agencies make about half of the total number of items offered. Film agency material is injected to the exchange network by some of the member organizations. Also North American news material is included in the exchange by satellites, but items produced by broadcasters themselves in other regions are very few. Recently there has been some increase in receiving news from the Arab world and Latin America to Eurovision. The regular exchanges in the other union OIRT started in 1964 by Intervision. However, Intervision has had only one daily exchange. The idea of a second daily exchange has been under consideration for years.

When studying the information structure in Europe and the global tendencies it is necessary to analyse both the development of the interrelations of the two technically highly advanced exchange systems (Eurovision and Intervision) as well as their relations to broadcasters and exchange mechanisms in other regions - notably in the developing countries. This analysis will necessarily also touch the international role of the news-film agencies.

1.3. News Exchange and Broadcasting Unions

Although the existence of two unions in Europe was an outcome of the Cold War confrontation, their cooperation in the period of television started to make slow progress in the 1960's. This was a result of the general development towards detente in the world. The news exchanges between EBU and OIRT started as ad hoc arrangements which slowly became stabilized and regular.

In 1964 the Western Eurovision originated 124 items to Intervision while 57 items from the Socialist countries were accepted to Eurovision. At the end of 1964 a meeting of programme committees from both unions was held in Geneve. This meeting agreed that the coordinators of both unions will deliver every morning the list of their items of the day and explore the interest of their members in these items. The ad hoc arrangements for mutual exchanges were also decided to be continued. Regular exchanges, however, did not start until September in 1965. In Western Europe, the greatest interest towards receiving the news from Intervision was shown by broadcasters in Scandinavia and other small countries like Austria. Of the Socialist countries, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic were most interested in Western news.

After 1966 the factual exchange between Eastern and Western European countries did not show any balanced development. The offers were increased by both sides. Eurovision offers increased from some 1500 items in 1966 to almost 5000 items in the 1970's while Intervision offers grew from some 1200 items to more than 3000 items during the same period. In the beginning, Intervision took approximately one half of Eurovision offers and later even more while Eurovision has been accepting only a few per cent (some two hundred items) from Intervision annually.[6]

These trends were not satisfactory to the newsmen of the Socialist countries. The problem got a new dimension when it turned out that the interest of Western broadcasters towards the Socialist countries reached its first peak during the year 1968. In the year more than half of the items from Socialist countries in Eurovision reception came from Czechoslovakia. A certain characteristic in all-European relations came out: during a political tension between the East and the West, Eurovision tends to take more material from Intervision, while Intervision takes less from Eurovision. During good relations and relaxation of tension, on the contrary, the trends are the opposite.

Consequently, the concepts of "news" must be fundamentally different in the broadcasting stations of different social systems. Following the development in the late 1960's, there grew a need to have regular meetings of newsmen from both sides in order to analyse the reasons for the unsatisfactory state of affairs and to introduce concrete measures to improve the situation. In the beginning the attention was solely in European news material only. Awareness of the problems of reporting from the developing countries came separately in all union meetings and in relations between the newsfilm agencies and the developing countries. Both processes, however, have mutual relationships and impact to the information order in Europe.

The problem of improving the exchange between the East and the West was primarily seen as journalistic, but not technical. In order to discuss these matters, there was a plan to invite representatives of Intervision news to the EBU Television News Working Party meeting in Finland in September 1968. The events in Czechoslovakia, however, caused the cancelling of this common meeting as well as a short break in the normal relations between EBU and OIRT. Provisional political crisis did not change the general course of development and next year the meeting of Eurovision and Intervision news representatives was organized in Wien.

The agenda was made very "light" as agreed by each party, and in addition to official greetings information was given only on the exchange systems. There was no debate on the general information policy or philosophical orientations, but the meeting opened personal contacts between newsmen and made possible the continuation of the tradition. This cooperation took place in the improving atmosphere of international detente and the cooperation was based on the principles, that everybody appreciated the motives or basic philosophies of other parties. These principles guaranteed continuity. The Working Parties of TV News of EBU and OIRT have been meeting regularly in the 1970's. In addition to these regular joint meetings, both unions have discussed methods of improving the news exchanges among themselves. As one concrete measure, although a small one, was the initiative of a joint study of television news services in Europe in order to improve knowledge of other systems.[7]

In 1972 the EBU delegation was invited by OIRT working party for television news to their meeting in Helsinki. Also the newsfilm agencies were represented in this Helsinki meeting which concentrated on the reasons for the continuation of imbalance in the news flow. Some Western newsmen accused the news of the Socialist countries for being merely reports of the arrivals and departures of delegations presented always with the same format, propaganda films of new factories, etc. The Western broadcasters demanded the news items more quickly than what was the practise in Intervision. Furthermore, one reason for the imbalance was the film agency material: it makes one half of Eurovision exchanges and comes from all parts of the world. It thus increases the value of Eurovision news exchange for the Socialist countries.

The Socialist countries have not criticized the news practise of Western countries in these meetings. In the Helsinki meeting the Socialist countries felt that they received too little material from the developing countries from Eurovision. One practical proposal coming out of these discussions in Helsinki (and later approved by other meetings) was the request to add news reports from "the third world".

Consequently, the news flow of European broadcasting has been seen problematic in two respects. First of all, there is an unsatisfactory situation in the balance of news flow between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe when compared with the flow of other forms of international cooperation (like foreign trade).

But secondly, news coverage of the developing countries has not been wide enough and satisfactory for the needs of European broadcasters and their audiences.

There has been rapid progress in the technical aspects of exchange between the two unions. Film material from the Socialist countries is mostly in colour and report of the events of the same day. These two things have been regarded necessary for Western news media. The change into satellite communication in Intervision will increase its importance in global communication because the Molnyasystem is making it possible to get regular news material from Cuba and some Asian countries. No doubt, this will increase the interest of Western European countries towards Intervision. However, there seems to remain fundamental differences in understanding the role of the news media in different social systems, although some journalistic problems are recognized as common.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe also emphasized the cooperation in broadcasting. Although broadcasters in East and West have made contracts for cooperation, the most recent developments have also shown that the real interest in the Western countries is not so much to increase the use of news material from Socialist countries, but to use more their own correspondents in those countries. There is also the problem of the existence of such radio stations like Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which are not regarded as serving the goals agreed on in the Conference on Security and Cooperation.[8] Although the relations of these stations for example to the CIA have been clearly shown and their functioning from Spain and Portugal create certain political problems to the local governments, there is no observable decrease in the operations of these stations. In fact, U.S. President Jimmy Carter during his campaign supported a statement in favour of these stations saying that "they are the symbols of the U.S. commitment of peaceful change in Eastern Europe."[9] There have also been proposals to gather all U.S. foreign radio propaganda under one organization. Radio Liberty and

Radio Free Europe have been proposed to be united under the name "Radio Human Rights" to express their current function more properly.[11] There have also been voices in Western Europe that NATO should strenghten its radio propaganda by creating "NATO airwaves" to support NATO's foreign policy. This proposal refers to the possible cooperation of U.S. radio stations with for example BBC, Deutsche Welle and Radio Canada International in their propaganda transmissions in Europe.[12]

It is obvious that psychological warfare should not have any place in the spirit of new information order in Europe. New information order should create confidence which is needed to improve international cooperation and relaxation of tension. The European experience shows that mass communication based on fear and tension does not compose a constructive element in contemporary world politics. As the period of Cold War created unsecurity, fear and uncertainty, the effect of the process of detente has been the opposite. It means that the manipulation of public opinion to support aggressive or unrealistic foreign policy is more difficult than before, and that the audiences have better possibilities to get more truthful images of other countries.

1.4. New Order in Global Perspective

Although the world television audience now approximates 1000 million and television has spread very rapidly, TV still remains a medium of mass information mainly in the rich part of the world only. Of the 25 000 television transmitters of the world 95 per cent are in the industrialized countries, while only 5 per cent are in the developing countries. Correspondingly, 90 per cent of the receivers are in developed countries and only 10 per cent of the 357 million receivers are in developing countries.[13]

These facts explain why the bulk of the international flow of television programmes and news takes place within the industrialized countries. But television has a very import role in creating images of foreign countries and distant areas, and it has been the focus of increasing discussions what images of the developing countries and their efforts are presented to world television audiences, particularly through news film.

Consequently, the global level has become a focus of meetings in the 1970's (in addition to regional ones, like European, Arab, or Asian meetings). Both EBU and OIRT have been involved in these tendencies. The first universal Broadcast News Workshop was held in Cologne, April 1973, following the initiative of Asian Broadcasting and later of Arab and African unions. This was an opening of a global debate of television news practises.

The Cologne meeting showed that broadcast newsmen in the world are very well aware of the social importance of the news medium as well as of the problems of content and audience. The meeting recognized that there were differences in news philosophies not only between the East and the West, but between the developing countries and some Western countries as well. In their general recommendations to world broadcasting unions and North American Networks the Cologne delegates stated that "the approach to news content in the developing countries may be different from that in industrialized countries where the emphasis is more on hard news..."[14]

The transnational newsfilm-agencies became the theme of discussions in Cologne as well. It became clear that most developing countries which have television system are almost exclusively dependent in their foreign news on the British and American newsfilm agencies. In Asia, for example, most members of Asian Broadcasting Union use solely film agencies to get their foreign film material. In the same way, news-film from the Middle East to Europe comes mainly through agencies, and is not originated by local broadcasters.

Thus the Cologne meeting recognized the importance of the news agencies in making available news material to broadcasters in countries which have common interests and countries that may not be able to get such material by other means. But the Cologne delegates also noted that "being aware that agency services may reflect the influence of the major broadcasting organisations and that additions to existing agency packages are needed to meet the requirements and interests of the developing countries, the Workshop recommends:

(a) that the agencies be requested to explore the possibility of including in their packages more material of interest to clients in the developing countries;

(b) that consideration be given by newsfilm agencies to including in their contracts with TV organisations in developing countries a clause requiring the TV organisation to supply a stated number of items per month to the agency service with the aim of ensuring a flow of news from developing countries which would be available for selection by the newsrooms of broadcasters in other regions."[15]

In general, the need for background information was felt but there was not much debate on the qualitative aspects of the flow. But it had become clear that an especially crucial relationship existed between the news-film agencies and the developing countries.

1.5. Film-Agencies and the Developing Countries

The agencies' coverage of the developing countries has been under criticism in other meetings after Cologne, too, and for clarifying the situation there was a need to study this problem. About one half of the news items offered by news-film agencies come from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, and approximately one half of film-agency material accepted by Eurovision deal with developing countries. The only area with notable progress for direct exchange of news material with Western Europe was the Arab region.

Initiated by the EBU Working Party for Television News, Yrjö Länsipuro studied the film-agency material on developing countries in Eurovision during research periods in 1975 and 1976.[16] He also tried to have a journalistic comparison between the coverage of major events in the developing countries by some Western "quality" newspapers during the same time.

Of the film-agencies, the British Visnews had a dominating role in covering all the regions of the developing countries to Eurovision as seen from the Table 1 below:

Table 1. Film Agencies' Shares in Coverage of Some Regions of the Developing countries, and in Their Total Contribution (all areas) to Eurovision in 1975 (Figures based on the study by Yrjö Länsipuro, YLE, 1976)

	Africa (excl. North) %	Asia & Pacific %	Latin America %	All Areas %
Visnews (British)	63	65	47	46.2
UPITN (British-American)	31	25	32	36.1
CBS (American)	6	10	21	15.4
ABC (American)	-	-	-	2.3
	100	100	100	100

According to Table 1, the dominating role of Visnews seems to be threatened only in the origination of news from Latin America. Länsipuro states, however, that in some central areas for news like (during the periods) in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia in Africa, or Argentina in Latin America, the amounts of newsfilm originated by Visnews and UPITN were more in balance.

Also in 1976 most of the film material from developing countries to Eurovision by film-agencies came from areas of crisis, like Lebanon, Angola, Western Sahara, and Argentina. When comparing the reporting of these and other items in the film-agency coverage to that of reporting by Le Monde and The New York Times, Länsipuro noted that "these Third World events were prominently reported" in the newspapers as well. Journalistically it seemed that both mediums approached the news from the developing countries in much the same way.

It should be remembered that in addition to the news material exchanged electronically, the film agencies also distribute a great number of news material from developing countries by air freight (syndicated items). This form of news flow increases possibilities for background information. Visnews and UPITN make these feature and background stories of different developing countries, and their topics increase the number of themes covered in "hot news".

The prime factor for the interest of the film-agencies towards developing countries, according to Länsipuro, is the fact how much broadcasters of those regions are clients to the film-agencies. For example, Latin American broadcasters are not as big clients of the agencies as broadcasters in some other regions of the developing countries. Consequently, Latin American coverage of agency services was expected to be lower than some other areas'. In principle, Länsipuro did not find major criticism against the film-agencies, at least if the standard of comparison is the reporting of Western "quality" papers.

After Cologne, at least two problems became clear: how to develop cooperation and news exchange between broadcasting unions, and how to organize the cooperation with news-film agencies which are commercial enterprises? The broadcasters themselves have created expensive technical systems of exchange which is then used also by agencies. On the one hand, the broadcasters and agencies duplicate their efforts, on the other, offer complementing services.

1.6. From Cologne to Cairo

In the first International Broadcast News Workshop in Cologne the world was clearly divided: while the Europeans could report a lot of progress in news exchange, most unions representing the developing countries had very little or nothing to report of any technical progress in this area.

After the year 1973, new things began to develop. The Non-aligned countries had become very active in issues of communication policy after the summit meeting in Algiers. Also the debate in UNESCO had some critical voices. The Non-aligned countries news agency pool was created, first on an experimental basis in 1975, and later stabilized in 1976. UNESCO's regional conference on communication policies in Latin America was held in Costa Rica in 1976 with a strong criticism by some media organization of the region and Western media in general, and also the UNESCO Nineteenth General Conference in Nairobi 1976 debated a lot on media policies. Along with this general interest in international communication, the interest of the developing countries in international broadcast news has been growing, too.

The Second International Broadcast News Workshop was held in a developing country, Egypt, in June 1977. This Cairo conference was held in a very different international climate than the Cologne one. New progress had been made between some developing countries and everybody was prepared to expect contradictions to become explicite between some parts of the world. In the scientific-technological revolution there should be better possibilities for the developing countries to be heard in world information flows: people have the "right to know" and right to receive the necessary culture as stated by the prime Minister of Egypt, Mr. Mamduh Salem, in the opening of the Cairo conference.

The differing views expressed in the Cairo conference could be put into two groups: the first problems deal with the relations both between and inside the unions, as well as with the relations of individual broadcasters (and unions in general) to the newsfilm agencies. The second group of problems includes conflicting views on who should report on events in the developing countries, how much and how. These problems were widely and extensively discussed in the Cairo conference which was designed to concentrate on the problems of news gathering, contents, and presentation in developing and industrialized societies, and to promote the present and future models of TV news exchange, as well as to discuss the future role of documentation and research for regional and international news exchange.

The union reports of 1977 showed that Eurovision - and the news-film agencies in particular - are expanding their relations with the developing countries. Also Intervision receives much material from developing countries through Eurovision. In a way the news concept of the European Socialist countries may be closer to that expressed by some representatives of the developing countries than that of Eurovision. The OIRT delegation in Cairo stressed that in Intervision exchanges, some 5 per cent is made up of news by correspondents in developing countries. These themes have dealt with the economic, social and political progress of the developing countries. Intersputnik-system does not yet include regular exchanges, but Cuba was said to be starting a regular news exchange in Intervision. There was no debate on the imbalance between Eurovision and Intervision but a satisfaction was expressed on the professional cooperation between the two unions.

In the Arab region, the need for exchanges increased in the 1960's when the number of television countries in the region increased and the Arab countries were not satisfied with the attention given to their problems by the news-film agencies. The Arab exchange was established in 1973, expanding in following years so that an Arab satellite is expected to be in operation in 1980. In spite of the rapid technical progress, the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU) does not see satisfactory progress in the quality of news. From the point of European information order, it is important to observe that in addition to their internal exchanges within ASBU, the Arab union has also contract (February 1977) for exchanges with Eurovision. Some Arab countries are receiving Eurovision exchanges and are sending their news to Eurovision either by satellite or air freight to the nearest injection point. Before joining Eurovision some Arab countries were already receiving news packages from French television. Visnews is still delivering news packages to some Arab countries.[17]

As far as the new information order means conditions for a more balanced flow of information between the developing countries and Europe, the perspectives in television news flow are good with the Arab region. In addition to the broadcast network, there are also plans to establish a news agency to Wien for distributing the views of the oil producing Arab countries.

Along with the Arab countries, the European news exchanges have had functional relations with Latin American countries. The Latin American exchange system SIN was established in 1971 within the Latin American union OTI. OTI's membership includes 90 broadcasters in 21 Spanish and Portuguese countries in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Technically the exchanges between Europe and Latin America are taken care by the Spanish Television in the same way as Austrian TV operates in the Eurovision- Intervision exchanges. EBU and OTI have also joint working groups and committees.

As pointed out by OTI, there is a notable imbalance between the news exchange of Arab, Latin American and Socialist countries with the Western European Eurovision.[18] In Table 2 this imbalance is shown by figures during 1974 and 1975 by analysing the flow of items from one union to another:

Table 2. The Flow of News Items between different Unions in 1974 and 1975 (source: Da Silva Costa 1977)

	1974		1975	
Eurovision/Intervision	3891/215	(5.52 %)	4709/251	(5.33 %)
Eurovision/ASBU	1761/5	(0.28 %)	2456/10	(0.40 %)
Eurovision/SIN	1321/35	(2.64 %)	859/7	(0.81 %)

As shown in table 2, the absolute number of news items received by Eurovision from any other union is very small, while Eurovision (and film agencies through Eurovision) have been transmitting thousands of news items to broadcasters in other unions.

Obviously, both ASBU and OTI have been analysing the reasons for the imbalance in the same way that was done earlier within Intervision. It is true that Eurovision members represent affluent and technically highly advanced broadcasters and that the newsfilm agencies increase the "attractiveness" of Eurovision while also utilizing the system for their own commercial purposes. For improving the balance with OTI, the Latin American broadcasters insist that satellite tariffs should be reconsidered. It is also interesting to note that similar technical barriers than what had been expressed earlier between Eurovision and Intervision are felt to exist in improving the balance between Latin America and Western Europe: Latin American items are not in colour which is required by Western European broadcasters, and Latin American countries have different time zones from Western Europe which make the arrangements for exchange more problematic. Still one can question how much the actual flow of information will be changed by abolishing these technical barriers only. The international Workshops of newsmen do not touch very deeply the different philosophies, political and ideological role of news in countries with different politico-economic stage.

In the Cairo conference this problem emerged several times when discussing "positive" and "negative" news. Comments were repeatedly heard from the developing countries that the news media in industrialized countries are only searching for negative events from the developing countries, but fail thoroughly to report the economic, social and political construction and achievements as well as cultural life which is everyday reality to these peoples.

Also the Asian Broadcasting Union's report in Cairo referred to this problem. Very recently ABU has approached Western European news exchanges by having an experimental contract for receiving by Indian Ocean and Atlantic satellites Eurovision news in Asian countries. National telecommunication systems in some South East Asian countries have given 25-50 per cent price reductions for receiving Eurovision news during the test period.

The ABU delegation in Cairo complained that "newsfilm of catastrophes, political trouble, human suffering and misery is brought into the living rooms of Asian audiences night after night without fail". To balance this view of the world qualitatively, "a little more emphasis on news about development as opposed to the crisis-orineted reporting was needed."[19] This is what some representatives of the developing countries understand by "positive" and "negative" aspects of news.

1.7. News Content in the New Order

Repeatedly heard argument from the developing countries is the complaint that Western newsmen seek only "negative" events from their countries but are not interested in the progress in development. Western newsmen usually answer that they also report "negative" events from their own societies.

These arguments resemble very much those which were brought forward in the European discussions for improving the balance between the East and the West; whether the openings of the factories, bridges, etc. are news or not. These debates confirm deliberate misunderstanding and absolutization of their own practise. In this light the Cairo recommendations are very interesting. They state that "while there has been some improvement in the content of international news flow along the lines recommended by the first Workshop (Cologne), both regarding broadcaster to broadcaster exchanges and the output of the newsfilm agencies, the imbalance of news flow - both quantitative and qualitative - still remains a major problem."[20] According to the Cairo conference the problem lies, on the one hand, with the news consuming habits of viewers and news policies and traditions of the broadcasters in industrialized countries, and on the other hand, with the inadequate professional and technical means of TV news production in the developing countries, which prevent their broadcasters from projecting the news scene of their countries to the outside world, including their immediate neighbours.

The Cairo recommendations conclude by urging the broadcasters, their unions and the news-film agencies "to correct this imbalance by projecting more events and processes of a constructive nature taking place in the Third World countries so that a blanced image of these countries is presented, particularly in the industrialized societies." More perspective was needed for understanding the problems of the developing countries.

The type of criticism to the news content is not new to European broadcasters. Similar situation has existed in the East-West relations because the process of relaxation of tension had lead the newsmen to a new situation where Cold War stereotypes could not be used. But the process of detente and problems like disarmament which are key elements of the process are for the newsmen more problematic to make news about than more visual events like crises and accidents. Not to speak anything of the deliberate disinterest and ignorance to the constructive processes of international cooperation.

Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge observed already in 1965, that in Western approach, foreign news is related to organizational and occupational factors - especially to such factors which are connected with the visibility and acceptability of various events to newsmen. News is made up of personalities or events rather than less visible social structures and processes. Positive events are less visible than negative ones, and newsmen tend to see the world according to single events instead of long-run processes and historical trands.[21]

This view may still be used for analysing the confusion in understanding "positive" and "negative" news from the developing countries. Galtung himself made some policy implications: more emphasis on build-up and background material should be given, and journalists should be better trained to capture and report long-term development and concentrate less on isolated events. Ocassional reports on the trivial even if it does not make news should be presented to counterbalance the image of the world as composed of strings of dramatic events. More emphasis should, in Galtungs view, be given to complex and ambiguous events and culturally distant zones, and to fight against stereotypes.

Although some later criticism of the theory has treated it as too psychologic and would like to place it within a larger framework of a politico/economic theory[22], many of the ideas by Galtung and Ruge are especially valid today. Anyway, more understanding of the ownership structure of the transnational mass media systems is needed in order to understand to role of the new information order in the new international economic order, political detente and disarmament.[23]

1.8. News Sources and the New Order

The Cairo conference welcomed the activity of the developing countries in problems of information. It "warmly welcomed" the plans that the African union URTNA is planning to start TV news exchange not later than in 1980. The workshop also "noted with interest" the news activities in other areas of news and communication than in broadcasting, whether between "the Third World, Non-aligned or Islamic countries, that ultimately strive for the same goal, namely to increase the flow of blanced information between countries and regions, thus contributing to a better international understanding, to justice and equality and to world peace."

These recommendations from the Cairo conference refer to the creation of new news agencies, news agency pools, and other arrangements, which are regarded as central in the new international information order.

At present the broadcast news exchanges are very much dependent on the few Anglo-American news-film agencies. Already at the time when Eurovision and Intervision were being developed, commercial television news agencies existed. Those agencies had a network of representatives and their task was to offer television organizations filmed material about world events.[24] One of the agencies was called UPMT (United Press Movieton Television) and it came into being in 1952. CBS-News started in 1953, and BCINA (British Commonwealth International Newsfilm

Agency) in 1957 as an attempt to stand up the American monopoly. During the next years, UPMT was re-named UPIN and later UPITN (United Press International Television News) and it is nowadays half owned by the British commercial television ITN and the North American news agency UPI.

BCINA became Visnews Limited which is owned by the British BBC, Canadian CBC, Australian ABC, New Zealand NZBC, and the news agency Reuter. Reuter itself is a transnational agency owned by some newspapers. A West-German agency DPA-Etes is also providing some newsfilm but is not competing with the big ones at all but is said to be a "complementary" agency to the others. It is mainly providing background information to current events and the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany to the EEC and the developing countries.

Visnews and UPITN remain the only international newsfilm suppliers. Not even the Socialist countries' Intervision has established its own news agency. The matter was discussed during 1960-1963 and it was motivated by the fact that Intervision members were not receiving sufficient material from each other. In the concerete proposal at Intervision Council in May 1963 it was proposed that a television news agency be established to which also organizations which are not IVN members could belong. The purpose of the proposed agency would have been to distribute film material on the Socialist countries to Non-socialist ones, and also film material from Capitalist countries which would be prepared from the Socialist standpoint. The administrative solution of this proposed agency would have been either to be attached to an already existing agency, or to be an independent international organisation, financed by Intervision television organisations.

This proposal, however, was not approved, but the Intervision countries improved their daily exchange systems. One of the obstacles to the establishment of the agency was the financial problem. Today Intervision exchanges are said to do all that was to be done by the planned agency, at least in the first stage of its planned activity.[25]

The process towards a new international information order has brought into existence new sources for information in Europe, too. The Yugoslav news agency TANJUG is coordinating the Non-aligned news agency pool, and Inter Press Service based in Rome is providing news form the "Third World". Their services are expanding and the interest of European mass media towards these sources is varying.

In addition to their newsprint services the new sources of international information are also entering the level of film services. Tanjug started the cooperation with several news-agencies of the non-aligned countries in 1975 which became known as the Pool. The pool expanded rapidly and now some 40 national news agencies in the developing countries and Europe are participating in the pool. The idea of the pool is to get the one-way flow of information into two-way flow but participants of the pool regard themselves as "realists"; they do not compete with UPI, AP or other big agencies but contribute to the creation of a new information order. The pool system is being introduced now also into feature and film levels for radio and television.

In the beginning of the pool the main problem was the quality of news. Later, a lot of progress has been made. Tanjug itself has been even faster and more complete than the big transnational agencies in covering events like Cuba and the Bay of Pigs, all stages of events in China, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the assassination of Allende and events in Chile, the fall of Saigon, activities of the non-aligned countries, several events in the Middle East, the first interview with Carrillo after his release from prison, etc.[26]

Because Tanjug is very productive in the pool and has wide coverage of affairs, some of the privately owned Western European mass media regard the pool as too much dominated by one agency. Tanjug has 40 correspondents abroad. But this argument may rather be a rationalization for not using the pool because the real barriers might be economic, ideological and political. After the Colombo summit conference 1976 the interest of Western European countries to the pool has also increased (Portugal, Austria, etc.).

The pool has been actively cooperating with Inter Press Service (IPS), a news agency started in 1964 to cover the countries of Latin America. The history of IPS is very interesting from European point of view.

During 1964-68 IPS tried to work between Latin America and Europe with the support of democratic parties. During those years, there were fundamental political changes in Latin America and IPS' basic philosophy had to change. From 1971 onwards IPS has been working as a specialized press agency representing the "Third World". IPS has headquarters both in Rome and in Buenos Aires. The European offices started in 1973.[27]

IPS material is mostly used in Latin American countries, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Italy and England. Few of it has also been used in France and Germany. In addition to Western European clients, IPS is distributing news to Romanian, Hungarian, and Yugoslav mass media. Some 30-40 per cent of IPS services deal with Latin American events, 30 per cent with Arab countries, somewhat less with European events, 5-15 per cent with Africa, and a few per cent with Asian news events. If requested, IPS could also make news-film when payed properly.

These new sources are not much used in European broadcasting yet and not even the printed news media are using them as much as they could. But along with the development of broadcasting stations and their news production and dissemimation systems in the developing countries, and the consequent development of direct news exchanges, the existence and potentialities of the alternative news agencies representing the authentic voices and views of the developing countries will influence the European information order.

1.9. Conclusions

The new international information order is closely linked with the development of European communication systems in general and with the broadcasting in particular. The basis for promoting a new order within the European region itself was created by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe because the Final Act of the conference defined the general principles for promoting the flow of information between countries of different social systems. The main characteristics of these principles are equality and sovereignty, with all rights inherent in sovereignty, and the non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries. Sovereignty is particularly interesting because it includes the full rights for being different and having different cultural, informational, and other patterns, but the problem of "non-interference" is problematic because any critical view of events in other countries may easily be interpreted as interference.

But if the same principles, particulary sovereignity and equality, were applied universally to European relations with the developing countries, it would create a necessary condition for promoting the new order in Europe.

The process of European security and cooperation has often been compared with the programme of the Non-aligned countries. Both offer a programme for a general orientation and practical action. For creating a new information order, the system of Non-aligment is, however, different. It is broader and more comprehensive for creating the new order than the principles of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, because non-aligment reflects the aspirations of the newly liberated, developing countries to build a new international political and economic order. The European Charter is rather a system of principles basically designed to consolidate security and cooperation in Europe in existing political and institutional frameworks.[28]

However, there seems to be much in common for the European efforts towards peace and security and global tendencies of new international economic, political and information systems. It seems very natural that the national movements of the new, liberated countries of Asia and Africa as well as many Latin American countries are seeking means of strenghthening their political and economic independence, and their control over their own destinies and self-identity. The problem is also felt by many small or, relative to European standards, less developed areas in Europe.

For broadcasters, there is enough infrastructure for establishing both bilateral agreements and developing union-level systems for a more balanced flow of information. The satellite system has not proved to improve the balance essentially in Europe but much remains to be done at the ground levels. Also the use of alternative sources for news-film and background information could be proved both individually and collectively by broadcasters.

There has not been any collective European policy towards the new information order nor could there be any, because Europe is composed of fundamentally different types of societies. Only in the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe there seems to be "blocks" in information policy: the Western countries favouring unrestricted free flow, the Socialist countries stressing the responsibility of the mass media for international relations and the contents of the flow, and the group of "neutrals" and "non-aligned" which often follow the Western approach in these problems. The broadcasting unions also act collectively, but express the interests of member broadcasters whose interests in a more balanced flow of information need not follow any lines of "blocks".

REFERENCES

1. James Aronson: "The Press and the Cold War", Beacon Press, Boston 1973, p. 25-26.

2. Jeremy Tunstall: "The media are American", Constable, London 1977, pp. 187-188.

3. Tran Van Dinh: "Non-aligment and Cultural Imperialism", The Black Scholar, December 1976, p. 39.

4. This is usually documented by the number of book translations, importation of films, theatre plays, television programmes, records, foreign exhibitions, etc. Although the problem of information flow and cultural exchange is not so mechanic and simple, these statistical documents compose an interesting basis for analysing the problem.

5. For example, Charles Sherman. EBU Review n:o 3/1974, 32-36. The IBU. A Study in Practical Internationalism.

6. Tapio Varis - Ranny Jokelin "Television News in Europe", Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Tampere, No. 32/1976, e.g. p. 34.

7. See Yrjö Länsipuro: "Joint Eurovision/Intervision News Study", EBU Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, May 1975.

8. As expressed explicitely by some in the conference. For example by Romanian party leader Ceausescu.

9. From Jimmy Carter's Presidential Campaign Position Paper entitled "Jimmy Carter on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty". This statement was not, however, delivered orally.

10. G. Gordon - I. Falk: "The War of Ideas" 1973, New York.

11. David M. Abshire: "International Broadcasting: A New Dimension of Western Diplomacy", Sage Publications, Beverly Hills/ London, 1976, p. 82.

12. The Los Angeles Times, November 10, 1976, editorial.

13. UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1975, pp. 723-724.

14. The International Broadcast News Workshop, Cologne 24-28, April, 1973, Recommendations.

15. International Broadcast News Workshop 1973, Recommendations.

16. Yrjö Länsipuro: "News-film agencies and the Third World", EBU Working Party for TV News, 1976, (YLE)

17. ASBU General Secretariat: "News Exchange in ASBU Region", Second International Broadcast News Workshop, 2-6 June 1977, Cairo.

18. Condorcet Da Silva Costa: "The Present Situation in the Ibero-American News Organ - SIN", Second International Broadcast News Workshop, Cairo, June 2-6, 1977.

19. Luke Ang: "The Present State of News and News Exchange in the ABU Region", Second International Broadcast News Workshop, Cairo, 2-6 June, 1977.

20. The International Broadcast News Workshop, Cairo, 2-6 June, 1977, Recommendations.

21. Johan Galtung - Mari Holmboe - Ruge: "The Structure of Foreign News", Journal of Peace Research, No. 1, 1965.

22. For example, Karl-Erik Rosengren: "International News, Methods, Data and Theory", University of Lund, Department of Sociology, June 1973 (Mimeo).

23. For example, Ivan Kovalenko - Tapio Varis: "Public Movements, Mass Media and Disarmament", in "International Detente and Disarmament", Tampere Peace Research Institute 1977, pp. 241-260.

24. Waclaw Wygledowski: "Daily News Exchange on the Intervision Network 1964-1976", translation of an article published in the Polish Quarterly 'Przekazy i Opinie', No 3, 1977, translated in English by OIRT, September 1977.

25. Waclaw Wygledowski, op.cit.

26. Interview with Pero Ivavic, General Director of Tanjug, Beograd March 18, 1977. Also Report on the Non-aligned News Agencies' Pool, Meeting of Ministers of Information and Directors of News Agencies of the Non-aligned countries, New Delhi, July 8-13, 1976. See also Pero Ivacic: "Towards a freer and multidimensional flow of information", in a conference "Third World and Press Freedom", Time-Life Building, New York, May 12-13, 1977; and Pero Ivacic: "The Non-aligned countries pool their news", UNESCO Courier, April 1977.

27. Renny Jokelin: "Alternative News. A Case Study on Inter Press Service. University of Tampere. Rome-Tampere, September 1977.

28. Ranko Petkovic: "Non-aligment and the CSCE Final Act", Finnish-Yugoslav Colloquium, Beograd 17-19, March, 1977, Yugoslav Institute of Journalism, Beograd.

RAQUEL SALINAS BASCUR:

NEWS AGENCIES AND THE NEW INFORMATION ORDER

The Associated Press coverage of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean held in Costa Rica, July 1976.

2.1. Introduction

Several studies on the origins, growth and consolidation of the international production of news have illuminated the basic links between the international corporate capitalism and the news media. A summary view of the problem can be presented in P. Golding's words: "The history of colonialism had an equal impact on the growth of the international news media. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the newly established European news agencies concluded a series of cartel agreements by means of which they divided the the world between them, according to prevailing imperial spheres of influence. These first links in the international media system set a precedent for much that was to follow as the media in developed and developing societies alike became progressively more involved in the corporate capitalist economy"[1].

---

[1] P. Elliot and P. Golding, Mass Communication and Social Change: the Imagery of Development and the Development of Imagery. In Sociology and Development, edited by E. de Kadt and G.Williams, pp. 235.

P. Harris has also documented this view and arrived at the following conclusion: "The old spheres of influence still seem to hold true - Reuters supplies news primarily to English-speaking Africa and the Commonwealth, Agence France Presse supplies news to French Africa, and both Associated Press and United Press International concentrate on Latin America". Furthemore, he adds: "Where the dependence can be seen to be of crucial importance is in the definitions of international situations which these news flow patterns provide. The process by which international news and information is collected and disseminated is largely dependent on the international news agency as the first step in that process. Even in cases where individual news media within distinct territorial confines support a large organisation of foreign correspondents and stringers, the international news agency provides a crucial service in defining the interpretation of the international arena upon which such individual news media act in deploying their correspondents. The news agency functions to delimit the 'discussion area' in much the same way as a map serves to delimit the area within which a general may deploy his troops"[1].

Several researchers have shown that this 'discussion area' which determines the issues to be considered relevant in the international opinion, goes to the mainstream of the culture of the international media system which is consonant with the requirements of the international capitalist economy of which it is a part. Within this system, the news agencies play a fundamental role, not so much because of their extension as transnational enterprises, but because of the functions they accomplish.[2] This is not to discuss their essential character, for as Somavia has put it, the main news agencies "are not in any real sense 'international' enterprises, they are transnational enterprises, each operating out of its headquarters in an industrialized capitalist country. By definition their ownership structure is totally vested in their home countries."[1] However, the nature of their action is such that their power resides then in their capacity of surveying developing conflicts and making the preliminary attempts to assimilate them, or to handle them within the frames and conflict-solving instances that the present international order imposes. In doing this, the news agencies act not so much as agents of change but just as one more mechanism for maintaining the status quo.

---

[1] Phil Harris, Colonialism and the growth of an international network of communications, mimeo, 1973, pp. 49-50.

[2] AP and UPI, for instance, rank 77 and 78 respectively among the group of 81 transnational corporations that control up to 75 % of the flow of international communication (ranked by total sales), according to a Table presented in: Cees Hamelink, The Corporate Village, IDOC Europe Dossier Four, Rome 1977, pp. 235-238.

As Elliot and Golding have observed, to call this a "cultural offensive" might be misleading, but "only in so far as the phrase implies too large an element of coherent planning behind a system that is largely made up of a variety of organizations pursuing their own economic interests".[2] Without denying a certain degree of planning nor the obvious coherence of the system, it is also clear that at certain levels the system works on its own, through a variety of organizations and occupational groups that in achieving their own ends fit somehow together in producing what is necessary to the conservation of the whole. In the case of the news agencies, a series of studies carried out so far confirm that "their structure and links with the rest of the transnational system, their ownership, their private-enterprise rationale of seeking constant expansion and long-term optimization profits, together with the values that govern the present training of communicators, lead these agencies to treat information as a commodity and to regard their main aim as that of selling their product more succesfully than their competitors. The 'logic' of the market becomes the criterion for their conduct".[3]

The set of factors that define the position and role of the transnational news agencies in the global structure of power is translated into a series of practices that run against countries and national groups struggling for change at the national and international level. Somavía points out some of these practices:

---

[1] J. Somavía, The Transnational power structure and International Information, Elements for a Third World Policy for Transnational News Agencies. In Development Dialogue, 1976:2, pp. 18.

[2] Elliot and Golding, op. cit., pp. 238.

[3] Juan Somavía, op. cit. pp. 18.

Criteria for selecting the news are consciously or instinctively based on the political and economic interests of the transnational system and the countries in which this system has its roots. The use of "labels", adjectives and persuasive definitions to stigmatize targets of the system is another political method that is employed.

Distortion of the news has become a regular device of international information. Such distortions are expressed in several ways, for instance a) overemphasizing events that have no real importance, b) putting isolated facts together and presenting them as a whole without this "whole" ever having existed ("making" news), c) Misrepresentation by "implication", characterized by the presentation of facts in such a way that the implicit conclusions to be drawn from them are favourable to the interests of the transnational system, d) distortion by "preconditioning" of events, facts having a specific dimension are presented in such a way that unfounded fears and misgivings are created, conditioning the reactions to these events, and e) distortion also by silence, by failure to report on situations that are not longer of interests to the agencies' home countries.[1]

Although this list is by no means exhaustive, the existing evidence has already been enough to create an increasing concern around the issue. At the regional level, the first Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, sponsored by Unesco and held in Costa Rica July 1976, took these problems up and elaborated two specific recommendations aiming at counteracting the effects of the present situation. This study presents the analysis of the coverage of the Conference as accomplished by the Associated Press in its transmission to Latin America. In addition to the empirical results of such analysis, some background information is presented both on the development of the search for a New Information Order - specifically in relation to the problem of the news agencies -, and on the Latin American communication reality.

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

Also, an attempt is made to discuss the possibilities of change and the obstacles to it, with special reference to the Latin American region.

2.2. The search for a New Information Order and the news agencies

At the international level, the harm that the practices of the transnational news media do cause to the underdeveloped nations has provocked increasing concern among the countries participating in the Non-aligned movement.[1] ESpecially after the Fourth Non-aligned Summit held in 1973 in Algiers, where a more scientific analysis of cultural imperialism and a more specific strategy to resist it were developed, a series of meetings led to the creation of the Pool of News Agencies of Non-aligned countries which started operating in January 1975 in Belgrade, around the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug. Because this was a very practical step towards effective co-operation among non-aligned countries in the field of communication, its definitive constitution was left to the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries on The Press Agencies Pool, to be held in New Delhi, in July 1976. All the organizational, structural, operational and financial arrangements concerning the Pool of Agencies were discussed in this meeting, in which 59 member-states and 7 observers (including the United Nations) participated. The recommendations made by the New Delhi Conference and in particular, the drafted Constitution of the Press Agencies Pool, were endorsed later by the Fifth Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries held in Colombo, Sri Lanka in August 1976, which in doing so opened a clear path for a number of countries to get rid of the transnational hegemony in this field.

---

[1] For two opposing views on the same phenomenon, see Tran Van Dinh, Non-Alignment and Cultural Imperialism, The Black Scholar, December 1976, pp. 39-49 and Leonard Sussman, The "March" Through the World's Mass Media, Orbis, vol. 20 No 4, Winter 1977, pp. 857-879.

Although this short account is centered upon news agencies, it is clear that the nature of the recommendations concern wider scope in the information field. Thus, for instance, the New Delhi Conference issued a declaration noting that "the present global information flows are marked by a serious inadequacy and imbalance", that "the decolonization of information is essential and ... the establishment of a New International Order for Information is as necessary as the New International Economic Order".

At the international level, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has already earlier been engaged in the promotion and assistance of national and regional news agencies. Thus, after a meeting held in 1961 in Thailand, which dealt specifically with the development of news agencies in Asia, participants from 14 countries recommended the establishment of a regional news agency. It was created in 1963 under the name of OANA (Organization of Asian News Agencies). Similar meetings were held in Latin America (1961) and Africa (1963),but these efforts were evidently less successful than in the case of Asia.[1] At present, however, the context has changed significantly not only at the world level, but also within Unesco itself. At its sixteenth session in 1970, Unesco's General Conference authorized the Director General "to help Member States in the formulation of their mass communication policies". Reflecting the same development of the non-aligned movement and the expanding Third World membership that led United Nations to adopt the Declaration of Action for a New International Economic Order in December 1974[2], Unesco has shifted from defending the "free flow information" doctrine to the notion of free and "balanced" flow of information. And this is inseparably linked to the need for new national policies for the sovereign determination of needs and priorities regarding the international flow of messages.

---

[1] Unesco and News Agency Development, in The Unesco Courier, April 1977, pp. 6.

[2] For a very complete analysis of this issue, see Centro Internacional para el Desarrollo, Las Relaciones Económicas Norte-Sur y los Medios Masivos de Communicación, Ed. Libros de Mexico, Mexico D.F., August 1975.

The first meeting of Communication Policies and Planning Experts was held in Paris in December 1972. It was followed by Unesco decision of convening an Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean.[1] In the view of Beltrán, Latin America was chosen, because it had demonstrated an outstanding preoccupation with the communication situation as related to development efforts. Latin America had already gained a significant accumulation of scientific research on communication problems and it had shown its own active and wider concern with communication policies and plans than in other regions. Thus, Latin America was made the first underdeveloped region to take up the matter at the highest political international level of decisionmaking.

The first step towards this decision was the preparatory meeting of Latin American and Caribbean experts held in Bogota 1974, convoked by Unesco. Experts from different nationalities and professional, cultural and political background could agree in making the diagnosis of the region and recommended the creation of national communication policies and councils. The experts asserted the right and duty of the states in leading these activities and called for joint regional policies towards the international communication forces affecting their territories.

The second important step was the Unesco-sponsored meeting of Experts on the Promotion and Exchange of News, held in Quito in June 1975. In addition to confirming the recommendations made by the previous conference, the Quito meeting stated the need for creating a Latin American and Caribbean News Agency. The meeting suggested that the coming international conference would set up a multinational preparatory Commission to deal with this matter. The international conference should also underline the need for Latin American governments to protect and support the agency against competition by international news agencies. This could be done for example by preferential tariffs and by agreeing on certain percentages, how much the news media in Latin America should use the agency material. The meeting also recommended that the governments would support the establishment of national, mostly public agencies, which would together form the continental agency.[1]

---

[1] A comprehensive view of this and following meetings can be found in Luis Ramiro Beltran, National Communication Policies in Latin America: a Glance at the First Steps, Bogota, mimeo, 1976.
Also relevant but more centered on the Venezuelan experience is the paper of Luis Aníbal Gómez, Danza y Contradanza de una Política Nacional de Comunicación, in El Periodista, No 58, Dec. 75-Jan. 76, Caracas.

Later on, in July 1976, the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean was after some difficulties finally held in San José, Costa Rica. The recommendation No. 16 of this meeting ratified much of the previous suggestions of the experts' meetings when recommending "the establishment of a Latin American and Caribbean news agency, or a consortium of agencies in the region, whose principles with respect to programmes, ownership, use and other aspects of organization and operation shall be determined by mutual agreement between the countries that wish to join the combine". However, the multinational preparatory commision was not established in this meeting, nor were any of the specific mechanisms to protect the regional agency mentioned in the final resolution. Furthemore, it was also recommended that in establishing the Agency, the governments of the region seek not to impair "the free operation of existing agencies or their future development". From this point of view, the results of the Conference are somehow less complete than the vision of the experts' meeting, that suggested that the information transmitted by this agency could be objected by certain media and there was a need for protecting it against competition from extra-regional agencies.

Otherwise, the intergovernmental meeting ratified and adopted a number of resolutions concerning the concept of "balanced flow of information", the need for national communication policies, the right of the states to formulate these policies and many others that will be mentioned later in this study.

---

[1] This and other references to this meeting are taken from Reunión de Expertos para el Intercambio de Noticias en América Latina. Unesco, COM-75/CONF. 603/4.

The results of the first regional test in communication policies were brought to the nineteenth session of Unesco's General Conference, held in Nairobi November 1976. There again, and despite much criticism and strong opposition of conservative forces echoed by the western media, the basic lines adopted in the Conference of Costa Rica were approved by all member-states of the organization.

As expressed by the Director General of Unesco at the closing meeting of the General Conference, "The fact that the mass communication media ... are in the hands of a few developed countries affects both the direction of the flow of information, which is produced in the developed countries and disseminated towards the Third Word, and also the content of this information which inevitably reflects the point of view, the mentality, the values and even the interests of the developed countries. It might thus be said that the direction of the flow of information determines its content. This is what justifies the demand for a better balance in the production, dissemination and circulation of information, such as to re-establish, or simply to establish, plurality and reciprocity of points of view, to give all people the opportunity to transmit messages expressing what they know of themselves and of world affairs, and to receive information reflecting this diversity." Furthemore, he added: "Thus the outstanding event of the present session of the General Conference has been that all countries, in the Northern and the Southern Hemisphere alike, have recognized the need to quote the terms of the resolution 4.14. for 'liberating the developing countries from the state of dependence, resulting from specific historical circumstances, which still characterizes their communication and information systems'. ... Unesco is henceforth called upon, by the unanimous vote of its Member States, to support the endeavours of the developing countries to establish or reinforce their own information systems."[1]

---

[1] Unesco, Address by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow at the closing meeting of the nineteenth session of the General Conference, 19 C/INF. 23, 18 January, 1977. (Emphasis added).

Thus, in the long and difficult process towards a balanced flow of information and a new international order one step was taken whose importance as a re-aligment of forces in the international arena cannot be denied.[1] What ought to follow, however, does not depend on the resolutions of an international organization, but on a real and profound change of the national and international power structures. Nothing has so far limited the concentration of the information power.This is why there still remains a lot to be done.

2.3. Some remarks on the Latin American context and the Associated Press

In the underdeveloped world - Latin America is the only region where broadcasting functions almost exclusively on commercial criteria and as private services. In terms of ownership, 93 per cent of the radio stations and 75 per cent of the TV channels in the whole region are private commercial enterprises (excluding Cuba). As a whole, however, 95 per cent of the radio and TV stations are financed by advertising and actually depend on it.[2] Also in the press, the ownership is concentrated and the links of the Press with the transnationals have been verified by recent research.

As to the news flow, available studies confirm the views of Beltrán[3]:

- The control of news flow into the Latin American region is dominated by the U.S. wire services that systematically distort-through selection and manipulation-the image of the world presented to Latin American people. The distortion by the wire services also extends to the coverage of specific Latin American items.

---

[1] The April 1977 issue of The Democratic Journalist is wholly devoted to the discussion of these topics. Also Herbert Schiller, in Communication and Cultural Domination, Arts and Sciences Press, Inc. White Plains, N.Y. 1976, has done a through analysis of the development of the concept of "free flow".

[2] Mario Kaplún, La Radio-TV Latinoamerica frente al Desafío del Desarrollo. Un Diagnóstico de Situación. In Radio, TV y Cultura en América Latina, CIESPAL, 1976, pp. 25-26.

[3] L.R. Beltrán and E. Fox de Cardona, Latin America as influenced by the United States: the Myth of the Free Flow of Information, mimeo, Bogota, 1976, pp. 20-25.

- News flow out of the region has been shown to be equally distorted and manipulated, especially by the U.S. news agencies. The images of Latin America are sensationalistic and false, with a special bias against situations of directed social change and revolution.

It has been commonly admitted and well documented[1], that United Press International, Associated Press and Agence France Press deliver more than 90 per cent of the foreign news in the main media of Latin America and that the continent is very rarely reported on . It is submitted to the distorted views that these transnational news agencies present to the peoples.

According to the classic study of CIESPAL, the two U.S. agencies deliver 80 per cent of the international news into Latin America, and in many countries large part of national and regional news as well is controlled by these agencies. According to a Survey carried out by Unesco-Ciespal in 1975, UPI serves 16 out of 20 countries, and AP serves 14 out of the same 20. Recently, Reyes Matta analysed sixteen Latin American newspapers from fourteen countries in a four-day period in November 1975. It was found that the international information available to Latin American newspapers today offer more possibilities of choice than was the case in the 1960s. Nevertheless, domination of U.S. agencies is still very clear: UPI and AP provided 60 per cent of all the world news published during that period. AFP originated 10 per cent of the total, and Reuter-Latin, 9 per cent. Moreover, if some progress has been made, it has been the result of using a greater variety of sources and translations of articles from some internationally influential newspapers. In addition, some newspapers have increased the use of their own correspondents. Naturally the search for greater diversity is possible only to big dailies. Two kinds of groups of newspapers could be found: those who could reproduce news bulletins from many agencies and those who had to rely on one agency only, thus depending absolutely on the agency's view of everyday events. This kind of dependence is quite common in many smaller newspapers of Latin American countries.[1]

---

[1] CIESPAL, *Dos Semanas en la Prensa de América Latina*, Ciespal, Quito, 1967. And E. Díaz Rangel, *Pueblos Sub-informados, las Agencias de Noticias y América Latina*, Caracas, UCV, 1967. See, for instance, Bonilla de Ramos: Las Agencias Internacionales de noticias y sus procesos informativos. El Estudio de un Caso. *Comunicación y Cambio Social*, ILDIS-CIESPAL, Quito (Ecuador) 1975 pp. 169-182. Also, Reyes Matta, Fernando: America Latina, Kissinger y la UPI: Errores y Omisiones desde Mexico. *Chasqui* No 7, 1974 pp. 87-108. Also, Santoro, Eduardo: La información sobre America Latina en una semana de prensa en Caracas. *Comunicación y Cambio Social*, Ildis-CIESPAL, Quito, 1975. pp. 207-224. Also, Sierra de Fernández, María: Flujo de Información de México a través de la agencia France Press, con relación a la Prensa Francesa. *Chasqui* No 8, 1975, pp. 45-74.

No other agency operating in the region has so far challenged the influence of the U.S. agencies. In 1970, thirteen Latin American newspapers formed the agency LATIN with the organizational assistance of Reuters. This agency sought to report regional events from internal perspective, but the experience so far is far from succesful. The greatest difficulties have been the hard competition against the U.S. agencies, and also the fact that this competition is forcing Latin to become quite similar to them in news coverage.[2] In Central America, there is the agency ACAN (Agencia Centro-Americana de Noticias) and in the English-speaking countries, CANA (Caribbean News Agency), created in 1975 with the assistance of Unesco. CANA began as a joint venture of the Reuters Caribbean Service and the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association in July, 1975. Its creation was felt necessary already in 1967, when the Fourth Commonwealth Caribbean Governments Conference called for the establishment of a news agency aimed at promoting understanding and closer co-operation within the region.[3]

---

[1] Reyes Matta, Fernando: The Information Bedazzlement of Latin America. A study of World News in the Region. Development Dialogue, 1972:2, pp. 29-42.

[2] Results of content analysis by John Spicer Nichols, cited in William H. Read, America's Mass Media Merchants, The John Hopkins University Press, 1976, pp. 148.

[3] Marlene Cuthbert: Some observations on the role of mass media in the recent socio-political development of Jamaica. Caribbean Quaterly vol. 22, No 4, December 1976, pp. 50-58.

In 1976, CANA became an independent agency, taking over Reuters Barbados-based Caribbean service, including the staff and stringers in 13 islands. CANA is a mixed enterprise. 56 per cent of shareholdings are private and 44 per cent are owned by governments. Although the governmental participation aroused some resistance from private media, it has so far established itself as a reliable and highly professional agency, having doubled its output of Caribbean news and distributing at present the international service of Reuters.

Other news agencies operating in the region are Interpress Service, Prensa Latina, EFE, and some others, whose local influence is fairly small. In this context, the Associated Press, a non-profit cooperative of American newspapers plays a major role in the gathering and distribution of international and regional news.

Associated Press handles about 30 per cent of the foreign news in the continent. Thus, it ranks second (UPI is the biggest in Latin America with more than 40 per cent) although AP material is used most in U.S. dailies. Gathering and transmitting of news on Latin America, however, make only 7 per cent of the total volume of AP operations. In its operations abroad, AP has followed the principle of direct distribution, and avoided operating as a local news agency or selling to national news agencies, if this was not requested by local authorities. In Latin America and the Caribbean, however, it has been permitted to operate independently.[1] In 1919, when the AP was still fighting against international restrictions, twenty-five South and Central American newspapers were accepted as AP members. Later on, a New York law excluded foreign membership in non-profit corporations. Thus the Associated Press remained U.S. controlled and its subscribers abroad, cannot vote at the AP general meeting or sit on the organization's board of directors. In the view of W.H. Read, "this limitation on the ability of foreigners to influence policy-making at AP suggests that unless there is a change, ... the

---

[1] William H. Read, op. cit. pp. 105.

Associated Press will continue to be international in operation, but not in control."[1]

The Latin American operations of the AP are part of the AP World Service, which transmits news to and from approximately 110 nations. At the headquarters in New York, La Prensa Asociada Desk selects the stories transmitted from the Latin American bureaus and decides, which of them will be distributed from one Latin American country to another. In 1971, a careful study carried out by Hester found that there was a general agreement among AP staff members and editors in Latin America and New York on what U.S. newspapers look for in Latin American news. This "agreement" clearly affected the news selection. According to this study, most news sent by Latin American bureaus concentrated on a few categories: sports, domestic politics and governments, foreign relations and crime-criminal violence.

After the selection done by the New York staff "crime-criminal violence" increased from 14 per cent to nearly half on the news. Furthemore, there were high correlations in the ideas between Latin American offices and New York staff of U.S. AP expectations on Latin America: news concerning U.S. interests, revolutions and coups, crime criminal violence, disasters, governments-domestic politics and foreign relations. Despite this, both offices claimed that they were presenting a fairly balanced view of the region.[2]

The situation has provoked increasing concern among researchers, policy-makers and governmental circles. Thus, for instance, in 1970 the countries participating in the sub-regional Andres Bello Agreement[3] agreed on the idea of establishing an

---

[1] Ibid. pp. 108. Read also observes that U.S. radio and TV subscribers, like subscribers abroad, are not members of the Associated Press, although many of the newspaper publishers who compose its board also operate radio and TV stations.

[2] Albert Hester, The News from Latin America via a World Agency, in Gazette, Vol. XX No 2, 1974, pp. 82-98.

[3] Gathering together Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile, in an effort towards cultural, educacional, and scientific integration, including communication in scope.

Andean News Agency. In 1974, the first meeting of Ministers of Communication held in Colombia approved a series of resolutions concerning the multi-country communication policies. In January 1976 Mexico proposed to the Latin American Economic System (SELA) the creation of a Latin American Information System (SILA) with the specific purpose of increasing and improving the flow of news within the region. This would be an important support to SELA's policies and actions. In addition to the meetings of experts sponsored by Unesco (Bogota 1974 and Quito 1975), CIESPAL, together with CEDAL and the Foundation Friedrich Ebert, sponsored another two meetings of experts in April 1975 and April 1976. The first one dealt with national communication policies in Latin America, and the second with cultural need and the role of radio-TV in the region. It is worth noting that although only a few of the participants at these meetings were the same as at the Unesco's meetings, most of the conclusions suggested the same issues and potential solutions. And in the question of news flow, the resolutions showed a notable coincidence in two basic aspects, namely, the need of creating local agencies - at the national and regional level - to serve better the needs of the Latin American people, and the need for governmental participation in these agencies.

As could be expected in a region so deeply penetrated by national and international capital and profit-seeking organizations, the reactions to these initiatives were strong and negative. Especially active in this sense have been the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) and the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters (IAAB). Both are federations of media employers, editors-in-chief and owners. Together IAPA and IAAB constitute a powerful international pressure group, which represents the private print and electronic communication industry of the region and the newspaper industry of the United States. They operate together on the basis of a mutual defense agreement. In words of Gardner, "the Panama doctrine, adopted by the organizations in 1952, provides that any aggression against either radio or the press will be considered an attack against both and will be resisted by all means possible."[1] Also according to the same author, the tools used to this purpose are basically "public opinion, keeping aggressions against the press exposed to the glare of international publicity".

IAPA is an organization made up of individual members, each member having one vote and supporting the organization by paying on the basis of circulation. The majority of the members has so far been made of U.S. dailies and the organization has its headquarters in Miami. One of the principal activities of the IAPA is an annual review of Press freedom in Latin America, which was started in 1946 and which plays an important role in the Freedom House's diagnosis on the same issue. The way IAPA uses this activity has been, however, frequently questioned in Latin America. A recent study of IAPA activities between 1952 and 1973 in Bolivia allowed Knudson, for instance, to make a conclusion that illustrates well the criticism to the organization: "Every government - as every person - has the right to self-defence... But to the IAPA that right seems limited only to conservative or reactionary governments pledged to the protection of private property... The IAPA judgements on freedom of the press in the hemisphere should not, therefore, be accepted without question".[2]

Both IAPA and IAAB opposed the Intergovernmental Conference in Costa Rica long before it was held. Germán Ornes warned the members of IAPA about the possible creation of news agencies in the region by public funds: "I believe that we must condemn the idea and agree that no member of IAPA should contact the service of those agencies".[3] Pasquali reported about the organization's strong protest before the meeting of experts in Quito, 1975.[4] Because the campaign postponed the start of the

---

[1] Mary Gardner, The Inter-American Press Association: A brief history. Journalism Quaterly, Autumn 1965, pp. 547-556.

[2] Jerry Knudson, The IAPA as champion of press freedom: reality or rethoric?, the Bolivian experience, 1952-1973. Philadelphia, Temple University, Dep. of Journalism, 1973. Cited in Beltrán, National Communication... op. cit. pp. 28.

[3] Cited in Beltrán, Communication... op. cit. pp. 25.

[4] Pasqueli, On the Instrumental Use of Mass Media in America for Purposes of Dependence, Caracas, Ininco, UCV, 1975, pp. 19-20.

Conference (new host country had to be found) IAPA could obtain explanations and assurances even from the Director General of Unesco (see later).

The meeting in Bogotá (1974) provoked IAAB to make a document which was widely reported in the international and regional media. Besides questioning the real expertise of the participants at the Unesco sponsored meeting, IAAB claimed that the content of the Final Report was a "totalizing view of culture" and that it served the interests of "fascists and marxists". Moreover, IAAB repeatedly stated that is was "incorrect to affirm that the private radio-broadcasting constitutes a public service. It is rather a private activity of public interest".[1] The organization also adopted measures to counter-act the influence of the experts' meeting. Thus, IAPA and IAAB expressed once more freedom of information as freedom of enterprise and used their great power to fight any initiative aimed at changing the present regional communication structure.

In participating in the Conference the roles of IAPA and IAAB were, however, somewhat different. IAAB was entitled to participate as a non-governmental organization officially affiliated to UNESCO. IAPA did not formally apply in time to participate as a legitimate observer, but it applied to UNESCO on May 1976 to get this status at the Conference. Because, this petition was late, the Executive Council of Unesco decided there was no possibility of changing the rules in regard to IAPA's participation. Thus, IAPA had to have its members invited as individual journalists to the press conferences.[2]

---

[1] In Boletín de la AIR (IAAB B$_{u}$lletin), October 1975.

[2] In letter of the Director General of Unesco to Mr. Dix, President of IAPA. Ref. DG/4.3/49.25/4. June 16th 1976.

2.4. The AP coverage of the Intergovernmental Conference held in Costa Rica, July 1976

Knowing the background,the analysis of the coverage of the Conference carried out by the Associated Press was considered to be especially interesting, on three reasons:

- The news coverage of the underdeveloped regions has been an issue at stake already for a long time.
- This agency has an undeniable influence in the determination of what events make news in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- The importance of the Conference itself.

The office of the Associated Press in Bogota, Colombia, provided 51 messages on the event.[1] Forty three of these reports were originated in San José, Costa Rica, the rest came from Tegucigalpa, Caracas, Santo Domingo and San Juan. These reports all went through the normal process of selection and were retransmitted by the AP headquarters to its office in Bogota and the rest of Latin America. These fifty one reports make up a total of 1,528 lines which were analysed in order to find out both the basic actors in AP's view and the statements that these actors were putting forward. In addition to this, a detailed analysis was made in order to find out to what extent the Associated Press was able to adopt a factual position with regard to the contents of the Conference itself. The latter aspect was considered to be especially interesting, since the resolutions of the meeting and the unanimity it reached around the basic issues obviously have a long-term importance in the development of Latin American and the Caribbean communications.

2.4.1. The main actors of the week

Since the Conference was an intergovernmental event (this fact defines its importance in relation to the previous meetings - which IAPA and IAAB questioned also because of the lack of their representation) a choice was made to define the actors

---

[1] Corresponding to nine of the ten days of the conference.

Table 1. Relative importance given by AP to the actors of the event, in terms of per cent of lines refering to each of them every day and as a per cent of the total.

July:	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	Per cent of TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Unesco[1]	33.7	11.1	12.4	4.3	20.6	19.0	23.1	64.8	81.9	29.0
IAPA[2]	52.1	11.5	49.3	12.4	10.3	27.0	2.1	-	4.1	19.7
Venezuela	14.2	65.5	-	32.9	2.4	9.5	8.1	15.8	-	19.5
Panama	-	-	-	9.3	6.3	-	36.0	-	-	5.9
Costa Rica[3]	-	4.6	19.1	6.8	2.4	-	2.7	2.1	7.0	5.8
IAAB[4]	-	-	-	-	14.3	19.0	-	4.1	5.3	3.0
El Caribe[5]	-	-	19.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.8
R. Reloj[6]	-	-	-	-	30.1	-	-	-	-	2.6
Uruguay	-	-	-	-	8.7	-	11.3	5.5	-	2.6
Dominican R.	-	-	-	13.0	-	-	9.7	-	-	2.5
APH[7]	-	7.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.2
El Mundo[8]	-	-	-	-	-	25.4	-	-	-	1.0
Cuba	-	-	-	8.7	-	-	-	-	-	0.9
Honduras	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	-	0.6	0.7
Bolivia	-	-	-	3.7	2.4	-	-	-	0.6	0.7
Peru	-	-	-	3.7	2.4	-	-	-	-	0.6
Ecuador	-	-	-	3.7	-	-	-	-	-	0.4
Chile	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	2.1	-	0.3
Argentina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	-	0.2
Guyana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	-	0.2
Colombia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	-	0.1
Surinam	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.1	-	-	0.1
Mexico	-	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.1
Brazil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	0.06

Total in all the columns: 100.00

1 Includes all the reference[illegible] to the Conference in general and to the Director General of Unesco.
2 Includes all the references to IAPA and its spokemen.
3 Includes references to the country and to Minister Facio, head of the delegation and President of the Conference.
4 Inter-American Association of Radiobroadcasters.
5 Dominican newspaper owned by German Ornes, member of IAPA's Executive Committee.
6 Costa Rican radio.
7 The Association of Journalists of Honduras.
8 Newspaper of San Juan, Puerto Rico.

in terms of nationality. In the case of Unesco, however, all the references to the conference as a whole and to the Director General of Unesco were included in the same category. IAPA and IAAB handled in the same way because of their character of international organizations. Other three media and one professional organization were also counted separatedly because of having an identifiable nationality but not representing the positions of their respective countries.

Table 1 presents a detailed view of the relative weight given by Associated Press to the identifiable actors. The non-national actors presented in Table 1 were obviously cited in support of IAPA's position which was the main actor of the opposition side. A summary view is given in Table 2. In Table 2, "Unesco" includes all the participants at the Conference, with the exception of IAAB, because of whose position it is counted together with IAPA. "IAPA" includes all the references to this organization, plus those refering to IAAB and to the non-national actors.

Table 2. A summary view, based on Table 1, of the relative weight given by AP to the main actors of the week. Per cent of the reported lines.

July:	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	Per cent of TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Unesco	48	81	32	87	45	29	98	96	91	69.7
IAPA	52	19	68	13	55	71	2	4	9	30.3

The participants at the Conference cannot be described as having homogeneous positions with regard to all the issues[1], as was expected. But the opposite arguments presented by IAPA and selected by AP to back its positions have a noticeable similar tune, which makes the findings presented in this summary rather notorious. The Executive Committee of IAPA held its extraordinary meeting during the days of July 12th, 13th and 14th. However, its views had a considerable weight in the reports until July 17th, although AP could have as an alternative news source the Intergovernmental Conference and Unesco itself. On July 12th, when both meetings started, and July 14th, when IAPA closed its meeting, the Associated Press gave half of the lines to IAPA alone, thus helping to overestimate the importance of its meeting.

---

[1] Specially noticeable are, for instance, the Argentine abstention when voting all the recommendations, and the position of Dominican Republic, which appeared as questioning most of them and very much in the same line as IAPA.

In the first day the Associated Press gave a more detailed information on the participants and the agenda of the IAPA meeting underlining the "urgency" of such meeting because of the dangerous situation that Unesco was causing to the freedom of press on the continent. The bigger weight that the Intergovernmental meeting gained in the second day was due to the message of the Venezuelan President, Carlos Andres Pérez, which was completely transmitted. Both the Conference and President Pérez were under IAPA's fire from the very first day and some information was given about the answer of the President of the Conference and Costa Rican Minister, Gonzalo Facio to the IAPA attack. Very little importance was given to the central issues taken up by Minister Facio in his address at the opening of the meeting, with the exception of the point where he stated that "freedom of information is not the sole right of the owner of the medium, the people also have a right to expect the most objective kind of information". But when he dared to question the real interests behind the position of German Ornes (President of the Committee of Freedom of Press in IAPA) and the degree of accordance between his objective performance as director of the Dominican newspaper El Caribe and his worries about freedom of press, the reaction of Associated Press was notorious as well. It managed to keep this issue as a central one almost three days, thus given an example how the big agencies can hide the themes that are of real interest to the peoples of Latin America.

The reporting of AP was especially limited in July 14th. The controversy explains the amount of lines devoted to IAPA (Table 2) to Ornes himself, and to the newspaper El Caribe, which understandably took the position of defending him ardently and attacking Minister Facio on the basis of his performance in previous regional events,especially in handling the Dominican Republic's situation. In the words of AP, it was "the Dominican newspapers" in general which took up the defense of Ornes and the freedom of press. AP saw these two aspects as one. It appeared that the news were made on the basis of the editorial of El Caribe alone. The editorial of radio Reloj was also reported in relation to this issue on July 16th.

More than half of the remarks to the Director General of Unesco were of his answers to IAPA's attacks on the Conference, and on the reports of the meetings of experts in 1974 and 1975. Both the Minister Facio and Mr. M'Bow tried to minimize the importance of the documents and explained that Unesco not only left the documents outside of the Conference, but had even "rejected" and "repudiated" them. Both expressions were quoted by AP from a joint statement by Mr. M'Bow and members of IAPA after their meeting on July 13 th. This meeting was the result of Mr. M'Bow invitation to IAPA to discuss "their differences". The controversy around these documents - elaborated in Bogota 1974 and Quito 1975 - is simply astonishing and fairly difficult to understand. It has been informed that IAPA, as well as IAAB, questioned both the experts and the documents much earlier, but the two reports were explicitly mentioned and used to work out the working document for the Conference COM/LACCOM/3, which was completed in April 1976. In addition to this, the influence of such meetings on the final resolutions of the intergovernmental meeting cannot be denied. The information available proves that at least one of them was actually used as a working paper in the Conference.

The Board and Committee of Freedom of Press of IAPA held a meeting in Aruba, April 8th 1976. Mr. Luis López attended this meeting on behalf of the Director General of Unesco, who had been invited by IAPA in order to discuss the Conference. In this meeting, the representative of Mr. M'Bow explained IAPA that the resolutions of Quito 1974 (on news exchange) had not been adopted by Unesco and, even more, that his organization had decided to omit and even withdraw from its list of documents the Bogota Report (1974,on communication policies). Given the facts mentioned above, Unesco's attitude towards such documents - the meeting of experts were actually sponsored by Unesco - is rather surprising. Even more surprising is the attitude of IAPA, who kept using them to criticize Unesco and the Conference at least until mid-July, although having got such a responsible assurance early in April.

Otherwise, Mr. M'Bow had - in AP's wires - a completely defensive position in front of IAPA, and the explanations he used[1] suggest that in this dialogue, it was IAPA who defined the topics. Nevertheless, the explanations given by Mr. M'Bow did actually nothing to calm down the angers of IAPA, for it was immediatly after the joint meeting of July 13th that IAPA insisted in that "there will be no retreat", and continued to criticize the Conference and Unesco itself. It should be noticed however, that this vision of facts corresponds to AP's way of making news. As a matter of fact, a careful examination of the Final Report did not show the same attitude on the side of the Director General of Unesco. Although the documents of experts criticized by IAPA were not mentioned in his addresses to the meeting, he congratulated at his closing address the participants for not having "restricted yourselves to discussion of the technical aspects of this subject but have gone to the heart of the problems, taking into account the socio-cultural contexts without which communication would be merely a disembodied concept".[2]

The meeting of Mr. M'Bow with the representatives of IAAB, on July 20th, was apparently more succesful since in the joint statement emitted after the meeting it was stated that the Conference had been fruitful and was held in an atmosphere of understanding. Instead of commenting on this, however, AP went on underlining that IAAB had postponed its comments until the end of the Conference and reminded the reader that this organization had previously joined IAPA's forces to attack the meeting, as it actually did. IAAB's Executive Committee also met during that week to discuss the agenda of the intergovernmental meeting. Although in this occasion some remarks were made on the "totalitarian" tune of its documents, no information was given on the outcome of this special meeting. In general, and as Table 1 shows, IAAB was given little attention during the week, which is most likely due to the fact that the declarations of its spokesmen were less agressive than that of IAPA.

---

[1] In the wires of July 13-14th, for instance, Mr. M'Bow appeared regretting the unjust criticism of the media, repudiating the experts' documents, assuring Unesco's permanent support to freedom of press and stating that what Unesco proposes "is only the planning of the mechanics of the communication media", an expression that was inmediatly mocked at by one unidentified spokesman of IAPA.

[2] Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Final Report, Unesco, COM/MD/38, pp. 67.

Venezuela received great attention in the reports, accounting for 19.5 per cent of the total amount of lines. The presentation of the Venezuelan proposals will be analysed later, in relation to the contents of the Conference. As to the transmission of the message by President Pérez[1], it might be taken as remarkable sample of "objectivity" on the side of AP, since it includes critique towards the rights of communication industrialists and transnational news agencies, as well as the reaffirmation of the principles that were afterwards adopted by the Conference. However, the message was presented as having no connection to the issues of the Conference, and all the use that AP did out of it was to remind of IAPA's criticism to these ideas and to underline the criticism to the international media and transnational news agencies. Otherwise, the message was not mentioned in any way.

The position of Venezuela to the Conference deserves special attention from the point of view of the coherence and preparatory work that its proposals implied. Also, and in contrast to several other countries, this country included in its delegation highest officials in communication field as well as well-known social scientists, who had an impressive background in observing and suggesting policies in communications. From this point of view, Venezuela app eared logical to its previous performance in international meetings and having a perfect coherence at all levels, at least in its external policy[1]. In practice, the main Venezuelan proposals were unanimously approved and form part of the central resolutions of the meeting, although AP seemed to notice more the polemic aspects of them than their capacity to elicit consensus on crucial matters.

---

[1] It was included in the Final Report of the Conference.

One of the greatest omissions in AP reporting was the Costa Rican President, Daniel Oduber, whose address at the opening of the meeting contained the denunciation of various groups of interests trying to dissuade his government from holding the Conference in his country, as well his determination to establish in Costa Rica a national council for communication policies as soon as possible. Although AP was eager to make news out of conflicts, both aspects of the address were completely ignored, although the motivations behind this might have been different in both cases. Otherwise, the Costa Rican contribution and enthusiasm to the meeting was also diminished in the teleprints, for most of the lines refering to this country - 5.8 per cent - alluded to the controversy Facio-Ornes, in which very little of the real topics of the meeting was provided to the subscribers of Associated Press.

The second great absent in the teleprints was Mexico, whose delegation was mentioned a couple of times, but apparently did not have any special role in the Conference. Given the precedents of Mexico's leading role with regard to the adoption of the basic principles that led to the notion of the New Economic Order by U.N.[2] (which has ever since grown closely connected to the problems around the New Information Order), and to the Mexican proposal within the Latin American Economic System - SELA - in the sense of creating a Latin American information system, as well as its continuing activities as participant and host of international forums around these two basic issues, the lack of relevance of the Mexican participation is noticeable. In this case, however, there are no reasons to think this way due to the selection of news made by AP[1], and although the analysis of this fact goes beyond the limits of this study, it is mentioned here as an interesting feature of Latin American politics.

---

[1] For a more complete comment on this point, see Luis A. Gómez, Fin del Monólogo. Inicio del Diálogo., in Nueva Sociedad, July-August 1976, Caracas, pp. 35-46, and Oswaldo Capriles, El Estado y los Medios de Comunicacion en Venezuela, Ed. Librería SUMA, Carcas, August 1976, pp. 187-200.

[2] Proposed for the first time as a Charter on the Economic Duties and Rights of the States in the meeting of UNCTAD, April 1972, by the President of Mexico, Luis Echeverría. Also, Mexico has participated actively in the meetings on information organized by the non-aligned countries.

With respect to the rest of the national actors, most of them received little attention and were mentioned basically in relation to specific proposals, which make up most of the reporting transmitted during the last three days.

2.4.2. The resolutions and related debates

As to the contents of the Conference, four items were presented to the Latin American delegates:

Item 6: Perspectives and problems, a) present situation and trends in communication policies and b) the role of communication in an integrated approach to development and in particular in the fields of education, science and culture.

Item 7: Problems arising from the development of modern systems of communication, a) the right to communicate: access and participation, and b) rights and responsibilities of "communicators".

Item 8: Formulation and implementation of communication policies, a) policy formulation: different approaches, b) problems and methods of planning, c) economic and financial aspects, d) professional training and e) research and evaluation.

Item 9: Regional integration and international co-operation, a) communication contribution to the process of regional integration in the Latin America and the Caribbean, and b) international co-operation and Unesco's role.

---

[1] As a matter of fact, the Mexican delegation to the Conference was almost wholly composed by officials of its Embassy and Consulate in Costa Rica.

The discussion of these items led to the adoption of thirty recommendations, from No 1 to No 16 corresponding to the items 7 and 8 of the agenda, and the rest corresponding to the items 6 and 9. A short account of these recommendations will be included here[1], in order to compare them with the information provided by AP to the subscribers. They are compared not only with the information about the recommendations themselves, but also with the information that was in one way or another related to the central topic of each of them. In doing so, however, only the statements refered to the participants of the Conference, or to the meeting itself, were taken into account, in order to evaluate the capacity of Associated Press to inform about the event itself. AP chose to present the Unesco and IAPA meetings as one event - which indeed corresponds to some extent to reality -, but in doing so IAPA was handled in practice as one "participant" of the Conference. It also enjoyed a privileged position when compared with the attention that AP payed to the real participants of the intergovernmental meeting. Due to this, the information concerning IAPA will be analysed later, but it is left out when the references to the Conference are studied. From this point of view, the same material examined earlier - 1,528 lines divided into fifty one reports - could be divided in the following way:

45.5 per cent used in refering to the topics discussed at the conference and the resolutions of it.
29.1 per cent used in IAPA affairs and the non-national actors.
7.9 per cent used mainly in organizational aspects of the meeting and some few mentions to the four items of the agenda.
6.7 per cent refering to Mr. M'Bow.
6.4 per cent used in the message of President Pérez.
4.4 per cent refering to Minister Facio.

In the last three cases, as was explained earlier, the Associated Press reported most of the information without connecting it to the central topics of the meeting and therefore, it could not be included in the first item here. The following analysis concentrates on the 45.5 per cent explained above and it contains a short summary of each of the final recommendations in order to help the reader to follow the argumentation:

---

[1] The summary of the recommendations is based on the Final Report, op. cit.

Recommendation No 1.- It recommends the countries to define and implement policies, plans and laws that will make possible the advent of more balanced communication relations at both, the national and international levels.

AP informed about the proposals of the Venezuelan delegation, which were based on the principles adopted in this recommendation, and about the message of President Pérez to the Conference, which also contains aspects of the resolution. As a rule, however, AP interpreted the Venezuelan proposal as a "demand for higher governmental control over the news and information". Some statements of the Director General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, and of the Venezuelan Minister Guido Grooscors, were also presented in connection with this issue, both questioning the notion of "free flow of information" as opposed to the notion of "balanced circulation of information and communication". The position of a Dominican delegate, who attacked the lack of precision of UNESCO when dealing with the term "equal access to communication" and demanded a meeting of experts to define it, was also informed by AP. Furthermore, the definition of "communication policies" was transmitted in the reports. The fact that most of the delegates agreed on the necessity to establish new communication relations at both national and international levels was ignored by AP.

Recommendation No. 2.- It recommends the establishment of supplementary communication systems which, while respecting the activity of private enterprise or with its participation, will tend to eliminate the existing imbalance and will provide instruments that guarantee to all citizens the access and participation to which they are entitled in the communication process.

This issue was also mentioned in connection with the Venezuelan proposals. However, the topic was ignored when AP informed about the resolutions. The aspects of the proposal reported related to the ownership of such systems, and was also interpreted as an effort to increase governmental control over communications. The support given by Ecuador to this proposal was the only one informed by AP. More time was given to the defence of the private media's role made by an Uruguayan delegate[1]. The notion of "supplementary communication systems" itself received almost no attention, and did not even appear as a resolution.

Recommendation No. 3.- It demands unrestricted support to guaranteeing free expression of thought and, hence, freedom of communication and information. These rights should be protected by the States, which should have as an objective the protection of the free operation of the communication media and all other vehicles of communication, as well as the protection of the work of communicators and respect for the contents of the news and opinions disseminated by those media.

Again, it was the Venezuelan delegation which, through Minister Groscoors, took a very clear position of defence and safeguard of these principles, making it clear that, in the Venezuelans' opinion, there was nothing in the Conference which could be interpreted as a threat to these principles. In addition to this, AP reported the Dominican Republic's worries of potential threats to freedom of thought and expression which were in the reports discussed at the meeting, as well as on the Costa Rican and Honduras' positions towards it. Apparently, Costa Rica demanded guarantees from the governments. Honduras requested guarantees from the major media organizations in the continent to respect the freedom of communication.

Recommendation No. 4. - It recommends the recognition of the existence of the right to communicate as an institution deriving from the universal right to free expression of thought in its aspects of access and participation.

AP informed about the Chilean demand for a legal definition of the concept, as well as about the support given to this demand by the delegations of Colombia, Costa Rica and Uruguay. It was informed that the proposal for the establishment of a legal definition of the "right to communication" was approved by the rest of the delegations.

---

[1] This allocution was, however, interpreted as being more related to resolution No. 9 when preparing the Table 3 presented below.

Recommendation No. 5.- It recommends that UNESCO include in its work on the right to communication the necessary studies leading to the preparation of a draft declaration recognizing the right of reply through the communication media at the international level.

AP informed about the Uruguayn proposal concerning the establishment of international regulations to make the rectifications of errors easier. AP reported also the reaction of the Inter-American Association of Radiobroadcasters to it, and the text of the statement it sent to the Uruguayan President, protesting about this "antidemocratic" proposal. The Chilean and Costa Rican support to the necessity of regulating the right to reply was also transmitted, as well as the fact the proposal was later approved by the rest of the delegations.

Recommendation No. 6.- It recommends to the States that they recognize that the right to formulate national policies and plans in the field of communications pertains to the States, while noting, however, that plans may be established to take into account the opinions of the various sectors concerned in communications processes at the local level. It stresses the vital and urgent need to include the communication and information sector in the planning of economic and social development, as well as the responsibility and right of the countries to strenghten and develop State-owned mass communication media in order to ensure the effectiveness of planning in this field.

In this case, some sentences of Minister Grooscros were shortly mentioned, in the sense that "the lack of responsibility" of the media was used to deny the right of the states to formulate national plans in the field of communications. The Dominican protest against the active role of the states received more attention from AP, although this did not criticize exactly this proposal but, more generally, criticized the several resolutions where more definite participation of the states was requested. Thus, beside these indirect allusions to the topic Associated Press actually ignored the main issue. It is not included in the news about the debates, nor in the references to the final resolutions adopted by the Conference. However, the topic is somehow all the time present in the reports. It was handled basically on the point of view of the opposition of IAPA to any sort of "governmental intervention" in communication media.

Recommendation No. 7.- It recommends the establishment of national councils for communication policies in which interested groups and basic social sectors will participate.

Accordingly with the lack of interest that AP had in the previous recomendation, it only said briefly that the delegates approved the establishement of national councils for communications.

Recommendation No. 8.- It contains several principles that should be taken into account when establishing the general objectives of such communication and information policies, in order to guarantee the fundamental human right to freedom of expression, the free flow of communications and the legal and social responsibility of communicators.

AP informed of the proposal by Uruguay to establish an international code of ethics for journalists and its later withdrawal. Because of this withdrawal, the point is not included in the recommendation, but it was in fact connected to the problems of the social responsibility of the communicators. The rest of the aspects that did come out in the final resolution received no attention from AP, not as debates nor as resolutions.

Recommendation No. 9.- It recommends to the States that, in planning their communication policies, they co-ordinate their efforts whenever applicable with the private sector, with the participation of all the institutions involved, before submitting legislative proposals to the competent bodies.

When reporting of "the role of private media", AP informed of the special interest of the delegation of Uruguay in including in the Final Act of the Conference a statement that the private media has played a positive role in the history of Latin America and regional intergration. Secondly, AP reported of the objection ("discomfort") of Uruguay to one document where the private media were attacked upon. AP reported also of the answer of the Director General of Unesco, where he emphasized the apparent disconnection between this criticism and the real proposals included in the document. The news agency informed as well that four non-identified countries argued in favour of the private media and, more specifically, that Panama, Costa Rica and

Dominican Republic supported the regional news coverage made by the private media. Furthermore, it informed in detail of the allocution made by the head of the delegation of Panama. It was presented as a fine example of the authenticity and truth which the international news agencies had when presenting the affairs of the Panamanian situation. Although Panama's statement apparently did not aim at defending the private media's role in the same way as Uruguay did, the fact that AP used it in the same context and under the same title related it to this issue. It should be noticed, however, that in spite of the considerable importance given by AP to the defence of the role of the private media, the information it transmitted did not really include the aspects actually elaborated throughout the resolution, or the fact that most of the delegations agreed in them.

Recommendations Nos. 10 and 11.- The first one demanding the urgent adoption of appropriate measures in order to make readily accessible to the population low-cost hardware material required for effective social communication and to investigate over-commercialization of the new technology. The second one, asking to place the greatest possible emphasys on the training of personnel at all levels of mass communication. Both were ignored by AP.

Recommendation No. 12.- Asking the provision of facilities for the establishment at the national level and the strenghtening at a regional one of documentation centres specializing on the various disciplines of mass communication.

It was informed that the proposal put forward by El Salvador was approved in the meetings of the Committee .

Recommendation No. 13.- It invites UNESCO to promote the establishment of a training centre for radio and television journalists, in order to foster the improvement of professional standards among the said communicators by means of short and intensive courses.

It was informed that this proposal, advanced by Costa Rica, was approved in the Committee.

Recommendation No. 14.- It recommends the continuation and increase of the economic support for the operation of CIESPAL's documentation centre. Positive accounts are given on the work of CIESPAL and the support it has got from the host government, Ecuador.

Recommendation No. 15.- It asks the intensification of the legal, administrative and institutional efforts to ensure permanent research and evaluation activities aimed to subsequent decision-making in the field of mass communication.

These two recommendations were completely ignored by AP. Especially the ignorance of No. 14 reminds the old criticism that positive events do not seem to be news in the view of the transnational news media.

Recommendation No. 16.- It recommends the establishment of a Latin American and Caribbean news agency, or a consortium of agencies in the region, whose principles with respect to programmes, ownership, use and other aspects of organization and operation shall be determined by mutual agreement between the countries that wish to join the combine and that, in establishing the said news agency, they seek to complement their efforts appropiately with parallel efforts of developing countries outside the region, as well as to ensure that its establishment will in no way impair the free operation of existing agencies or their future development.

The proposals, debates and resolutions related to this issue formed the bulk of the news transmitted by Associated Press. Initially, AP presented this topic as a Venezuelan attempt to increase governmental control over the free flow of news in the region. Later, it stated several times that this one was the boldest proposals submitted to the intergovernmental meeting. Also, it resorted very often to inform that the Conference was dealing with several (non-specified) matters, "among them, the creation of a Latin American news agency...". Thus, it presented this topic as the very central one, although its undeniable importance cannot be evaluated in this way considering the content of the recommendations mentioned above.

Mr. M'Bow was reported questioning the free flow of news and information (which is, in practice, damaged by the concentration of the international media) and refering to the common criticism in the sense that the news agencies' selection of news does not reflect the real processes going on in the countries of the Third World. The Venezuelan proposal and discussions around this topic was reported every day, until the delegations of Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Venezuela and Guyana, supported the resolution, which was finally approved in the Committee. On the other hand, this was the only recommendation which was transmitted by the AP reports almost integrally and - furthermore - three times during the week. As to the contents of the resolution, according to the teletype No 303, of June 20, its final version spoke of "the establishment of a Latin American or Caribbean News Agency, or a monopoly or consortium of agencies in the region". Other quotations of the resolution are quite true (when compared with the final report prepared by UNESCO) but the information refering to a "monopoly" of agencies is, apparently, a creation of the AP, since nothing of that kind can be found in other reports on the very same issue. AP regularly informed its subscribers that this agency "will in no way impair the free operation of existing agencies or their future development", and quoted the same paragraph or some identified and non-identified sources asserting the same fact.

The problem of ownership of the proposed agency was also a very important issue to Associated Press, which managed to make news out of it almost every day, although there was a generalized conviction that this matter would be left to the countries interested in joining the combine, as the resolution itself says. Nonetheless, AP found several non-identified delegates willing to state "privately" that, most likely, the said agency will be joint venture of public and private capitals. Only twice the AP identified the source of such informations: the Venezuelan Minister Grooscors (saying that the agency will be truly representative of the public and private interests of the region) and Costa Rican delegate (who explained that his government considers it necessary to deal with the said agency as a mixed enterprise). The question of joining efforts with parallel enterprises of other developing countries got no attention from AP.

Recommendation No. 17.- It recommends the formulation and implementation of integrationist policies with regard to the production of messages, the training of human resources, the exchange and flow of information between the countries of the region, as well as the establishment of a strong Latin American communication structure, capable of achieving free and equitable participation for the region in international communication systems and centres.

Apart from a few comments that the creation of a Latin American and Caribbean News Agency should be one step towards regional integration in the communication field, this topic was also ignored by the AP.

Recommendation No. 18.- It recommends to UNESCO the establishment of a short- and medium-term programme of action for greater co-ordination of communication policies and for a codification of the principles governing the "Law of Communication".

Recommendation No. 19.- It recommends to UNESCO the carrying out of studies aimed to strenghtening horizontal co-operation in the field, and the co-ordination of these activities with those that the Latin American Economic System (SELA), is carrying out in related fields.

Recommendation No. 20.- It recommends to the General Conference of UNESCO the adoption of organizational measures for the establishment of the specific area of communication at a level corresponding to its undeniable parity of importance with other areas of UNESCO's action.

These three recommendations were, as well, ignored by the AP.

Recommendation No. 21.- It recommends the examination of the problem of technological dependence, to foster access and participation in satellite communication at the world level, and to meet to define a concerted policy with respect to the information contents that should circulate via satellite between Latin American countries, and between this region and other parts of the world.

In the last day of the Conference, it was informed that a resolution supported by Bolivia, Brazil, Honduras and Venezuela had been approved by the rest of the delegations, and some parts of the text were quoted, together with some of the arguments used in the debates. The aspect "meeting to define a concerted policy...", received special attention and, in words of AP, it was "the most specific one approved here suggesting governmental control of the free flow of information in the area". AP saw this resolution as one of the most important, but it seems safe to assume that its possible connections to "governmental control" were the main reason to make some news out of it.

Recommendation No. 22.- It recommends a decided support to the Regional Centre of Book Development established by UNESCO in Colombia, while urging the preparation of a draft protocol for a common market of books.

Recommendation No. 23.- It recommends to UNESCO the carrying out a study on the possible establishment of a regional centre for the preparation and distribution of informative material on the region specifically designed for children and young people.

Recommendation No. 24.- It recommends the establishment or strenghtening of existing training centres for rural communicators.

Recommendation No. 25.- It recommends the encouragment of national and regional cinematographic production, which should not detract from the cultural and historical identities of the countries of the region while favouring the development of education.

Recommendation No. 26.- It recommends the adoption of a clear policy with regard to the use of communication via satellite, the participation in CITEL meetings, the establishment of a high-capacity terrestrial micro-wave and sub-marine cable network in order to link the countries, and the co-ordination in the adoption of technologies, so as to permit a more effective exchange of productions.

The topics contained in these resolutions were ignored by AP.

Recommendation No. 27.- It recommends the establishment of national news agencies, wherever these do not exist, and the strenghtening of the existing ones, as a first step in a gradual process towards the creation of a Latin American and Caribbean News Agency, the granting of technical facilities to support the creation of the said agency and that all the other integration efforts (SELA, UBEC, etc.), incorporate their information and dissemination efforts in the movement towards integration in this field.

It was informed 1) that the Venezuelan proposal included the creation and strenghtening of national agencies, 2) that this matter was a motive of worry for IAPA and 3) later that the proposal had been approved by the rest of the participants. The relations of this resolution with the creation of the Latin American and Caribbean News Agency, were especially taken into account by AP. AP informed also the only reported intervention of the Cuban delegate, who explained the creation of Prensa Latina as a national effort to counteract the action of the transnational news agencies.

Recommendation No. 28.- It recommends the establishment of a Latin American Council for Mass Communication, which - through SELA - will design joint communication programmes and establish or increase co-operation, co-ordination, complementation and/or exchange with the competent national organizations.

Recommendation No. 29.- It recommends for those who have not done yet so, to establish national information systems which co-ordinate the management of national documentation infrastructures, libraries and archives.

Recommendation No. 30.- It recommends UNESCO to seek support for the creation of a regional audio-visual material bank, in order to satisfy the general and specific needs of the countries, while avoiding duplication of efforts and strenghtening regional integration.

These three resolutions and the related debates were ignored by the AP.

Table 3 present a summary of the findings analysed in this chapter, and it shows the relative importance given by AP to the different items discussed and approved at the Conference (in terms of the amount of lines that each one received during the transmissions). As the table shows AP ignored more than half of them (16 out of 30). Among those it reported there was a heavy emphasis on two basic topics: news agencies and the defense of the role of the private media. As it comes out from Table 3, these two topics formed 62.5 per cent of the total amount of reports on the resolutions. Although the first one is undoubtedly one of the most relevant decisions adopted by the meeting, AP treatment of other equally or more

Table 3. Relative importance given by AP to the different items discussed and approved at the Conference of Costa Rica.

No and topic of the resolution		No. lines	Per cent
1	Balanced information and communication policies	65	9.3
2	Supplementary communication systems	40	5.7
3	Freedom of thought, communication and information	34	4.9
4	Right to communicate	11	1.6
5	Right to reply	39	5.6
6	Right of the States to formulate comm. policies	20	2.9
7	National councils for Comm. policies	2	0.3
8	Principles to guarantee freedom of expression, comm. and social responsibility of the communicators	9	1.3
9	Co-ordination with the private sector	102	14.7
10	Availability and over-commercialization of technology	-	-
11	Training of personnel in communications	-	-
12	Documentation centres in mass communication	2	0.3
13	Training of radio and TV journalists	2	0.3
14	Support to CIESPAL's documentation centre	-	-
15	Research and evaluation activities	-	-
16	Latin American and Caribbean news agency	293	42.1
17	Integrationist communication policies	-	-
18	Co-ordination of communication policies	-	-
19	Horizontal co-operation in communications	-	-
20	High priority on the field of communications	-	-
21	Policy with respect to communication satellites	37	5.3
22	Common market for books	-	-
23	Centre for materials for children and young	-	-
24	Centres for rural communicators	-	-
25	National and regional cinematographic production	-	-
26	Complements to satellite communication	-	-
27	National news agencies	40	5.7
28	Latin American Council for mass comm.	-	-
29	National information systems	-	-
30	Regional audio-visual material bank	-	-
	Total	696	100

important topics cannot but confirm one of the considerations included in the recommendation No 16: "the greater part of the news relating to a region is produced by agencies foreign to the region, which are not greatly concerned or interested in reflecting the real motivations, whole truth or background of regional events..."

It is worth noticing that decisions such as those asserting the right of the states to formulate policies in the field of communications, the necessity of establishing national councils for communication in which all the basic social sectors will participate, and supplementary communication systems aimed at reducing the existing imbalances in the field, received 8.9 per cent of the lines altogether, while the lines spent in the allocutions defending the role of the private media made up 14.7 per cent alone. If only small attention was paid to the right of the states and the national communities, the decisions regarding regional integration, co-ordination and horizontal co-operation in the field of communication, were totally ignored by the Associated Press.

The problems analysed in relation to the recommendation No 1, concerning both the necessity of developing more balanced communication relations at both the national and international level, and the need for new national policies that will make possible the advent of such relations (which were indeed at the very heart of the Conference and form the core of the new policies of Unesco and United Nations) were also ill-treated. Only 9.3 per cent of the lines were spent in these issues, and the consensus that this recommendation obtained from the delegation was ignored. Given the political differences between the regimes represented at the Intergovernmental meeting, the relevance of this consensus can hardly be denied or ignored. The same mechanism, consisting of ignoring consensus but underlining minority opinions and differences, was used as well in reporting other important issues, such as the right of the states to formulate policies, the need for establishing supplementary systems and the problem of coordinating these activities with the ones developed by the private sector.

In contrast to the treatment of matters obviously relevant for the region and its integral development, there is the weight given to recommendations No 16 and No 27 - on the Latin American and the Caribbean news agency, and the national news agencies -, which is evidently due to the fact that the accomplishment of such recommendations would probably affect the interests of AP and other transnational news agencies. Understandably, AP took up in this case the arguments that are more relevant from the point of view of the businessmen: the ownership of such agency and the extent to which it should not affect the operations and development of the existing agencies.

2.4.3. The Inter-American Press Association as presented by AP

IAPA was, in AP's view, one of the main subjects in the Conference of Costa Rica. The presence, activities and statements of IAPA, as it came out from AP wires, present some interesting features. 19.7 per cent of the total amount of lines examined were spent in informing about this organization, and the picture they presented was found to be as follows:

26.6 per cent - out of the total refering to IAPA - was used in giving detailed information about the agenda and the participants of the IAPA's Executive Committee meeting and, most of all, characterizing it as an "emergency meeting" due to the "crucial" situation in which the Unesco meeting has placed the freedom of press in the region (and potentially in the whole world). These type of alarming sentences were quite frequent and formed a sort of counterpoint to any information referred to the Conference itself. The subscribers were forced to read about the Conference having all the time the signal of danger raised by IAPA position. The spokesmen of IAPA were mainly German Ornes, president of the Committee of Freedom of Press in IAPA and (to a lesser extent) the director of "Miami Herald" and President of IAPA, George Beebe. The rest of the statements are refered to IAPA as an organization. There is not, however, division of labor among these representatives when refering to the Conference (with the only exception that it was Germán Ornes who took the leading role in the attacks against Gonzalo Facio).

26.2 per cent was used in repeating three ideas advanced by IAPA:

- UNESCO and the Conference are threatening the freedom of press at the regional and world level, by encouraging government control of news media and the rest of the media in general.
- UNESCO and the Conference are using "subtle and insidious means to attack freedom of press and freedom of expression".
- It is repeatedly stated that "there will be no retreat", and that "whatever be the results of the said Conference, IAPA will continue to fight against any formula or policy which might prevent the people from being informed by an independent and free press".

10.8 per cent was used for reporting more specific arguments. Along these lines, AP informed that:

- IAPA centers its criticism on the reports prepared by UNESCO experts at previous meetings (Bogota 1974 and Quito 1975), in which the agenda of the Conference was planned. In IAPA's view, both final reports, "suggested the governments to tighten their control over the media and restrict the activities of the international news services", something regarded as a serious threat to freedom of press.
- The UNESCO "campaign" was generated in 1974 by the countries of the Third World, supported by the Soviet Union.
- The Conference represents the alliance of left- and right-wing governments, together with an unprecedented and unexpected support given by the few democratic regimes still existing in the region. This alliance aims at controlling the press of the continent.
- UNESCO is also interested in submitting the press to the national goals of development, as defined by the respective governments.[1]

32.2 per cent was used in:

- Informing that IAPA does not trust in M'Bow's declarations that the freedom of press has not been and shall not be attacked by the Conference, and stating that the Director General of UNESCO is, either unreliable, or misleading in his declarations.

---

[1] Although it is hard to see how this argument can stand for a real charge, the fact is that it forms part of the scarce specific arguments used by IAPA and transmitted by the AP headquarters.

- Transmitting IAPA's attack against president Pérez. In this case, IAPA appears as being shocked by the "dangerous and fallacious" suggestions advanced by Mr. Pérez, who is portraited as someone looking for the total control of the press.
- Transmitting the heaviest attacks, mostly personal, against Mr. Gonzalo Facio, while refering to his past "dubious position" towards the intervention of Dominican Republic and mocking his defence of the achievements of the Conference.

Only 4.2 per cent was devoted to the news agency issue. AP informed that:

- IAPA is not against the creation of national news agencies, but rather criticizes the potential control of the total flow of information and existing agencies.
- "It will be impossible to reach the agreement of all governments on this matter and for any agency of this sort to compete with the existing agencies".

It should be noted that the issue of unrestricted functioning of news media is, in IAPA's position, directly related to its conception of "freedom vs. totalitarism" in the control of the press, which is at the core of IAPA's position.

Summarizing, the material refered to IAPA can be presented as follows:

Subject	No. of lines	per cent
Attacks to Mrs. M'Bow, Pérez and Facio	92	32.2
IAPA agenda and the meeting	76	26.6
UNESCO alleged attack against freedom	75	26.2
Other threats to freedom	31	10.8
On news agencies	12	4.2
Total	286	100.0

As observed, and in spite of AP's interest on transmitting the arguments provided by this organizations in order to question the Conference and condemning whatever resolution could emerge, not more than 15 per cent of the lines devoted for this purpose could be filled with specific information and argumentation, the coherence of which is yet highly questionable. Also in the light of this argumentation, it is clear that what IAPA defends is actually freedom of enterprise. Problems of communication and their relations to development do not form part of its concern. Hence its tendency to attack people instead of advancing more clear positions with respect to the specific issues at stake.

A remarkable fact is that AP chose only critical and even agressive commentators to build up the necessary "frame for the events". They enjoyed considerable room for their comments, the space given to them exceeded that of most of the participating countries. The leads used were clearly partial and confusing. An example is the extensive quotations that AP made of declarations by the President of a national Association of Journalists while ignoring the support given to the meeting by the Latin American Federation of Journalists[1]. Certainly, many commentators sympathetic to the Conference could have been found, had AP only wanted to.

2.5. Conclusions

Although the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies has an undeniable importance in the search for new information models better designed to serve the purposes of integral development and the interests of the majority of the people of the region, the coverage offered by Associated Press can be criticized in several respects:

- The presentation of the event: AP gave it the image of a highly questionable matter by means of a) stressing IAPA's position and other partial commentators' criticism, b) overemphasizing minor events that were against the aims of the meeting and c) minimizing or ignoring background and actual context that might have explained better the meaning of the event.

---

[1] FELAP was created on June 1976, and declared inmediate support to both the Conference and the creation of the Latin American and Caribbean News Agency.

- The actors of the event: a) AP coverage made IAPA one of the main actor of the event, enjoying more space than any of the Latin American and Caribbean member -States of Unesco. Even the commentators selected by AP were given more space than the majority of the countries of the region, and b) the presentation of the real actors of the event was biased in several respects, for instance: Important actors such the Director General of Unesco, the President of the Conference and the President of Venezuela we criticized and their positions weakened by attacks centered upon their personalities. The position of Venezuela was given a fairly adequate coverage, but only to criticize it and not to mention its real weight in the final outcome of the Conference. Most of other countries' roles were minimized or ignored unless their positions run or were susceptible to be presented as running in favour of IAPA's position.

- The items and final outcome of the Conference; more than half of the resolutions were ignored in the wires. Out of those mentioned, the news agencies and the role of the private sector were given more than half of the space, while issues such as the right of the states to formulate communication policies the need for a balanced flow of information and supplementary communication systems, were obviously minimized or even ignored as resolutions.

- With respect to IAPA's role, more than half of the space devoted to it was spent in transmitting its attacks to persons and stressing the "emergency" of its meeting. The rest of the space was used in characterizing Unesco as an insidious enemy of freedom of press, denouncing totalitarian intentions in all the countries of the region and attacking documents of preparatory meetings.

- Although in accordance to the rules of "objectivity" most criticism was voiced by an identifiable source - mainly IAPA - AP found also non-identifiable sources to stress the importance of issues that are in the interest of transnational news agencies and private interests in general.

- Some of the very basic reasons to support the positions finally adopted by the Conference were transmitted by AP - for instance, the question of the new information order, the concentration of the media in a few industrialized countries and current criticism to news agencies - but the questioning of the Conference as a whole, as well as of the intentions of the actors of the event, greatly overwhelm the relevance of such issues.

Finally, despite of these wires being obtained from only one AP bureau in Latin America, an unsystematic look at the press of some other countries indicate it is safe to assume that, basically, the same wires were transmitted to the rest of the continent.

2.6. Some critical remarks on the alternatives for change

The problems of the underdeveloped world - among them, the fact of being communicated mainly through channels which cannot represent the interests of the underdeveloped countries - are thoroughly examined in numerous gatherings and publications. The possibilities of overcoming the present situation remain, however, tremendously obscure and demand ever more attention and concerted action. In the case of the news agencies, several possibilities have been presented. This chapter aims at making a critical summary of these positions, specially centered upon the Latin American experience and context.

The Executive Director of Freedom House, Leonard Sussman, thinks that "threats against the major international news media tend to harm both the threatener and the threatened. Further reduction of international reportage in the Third World will deprive less developed countries of the information they need in order to develop. Such reduction may also discourage Western investment in countries where accurate, impartial reporting of events and economic conditions is no longer available - because the news media have become the hand-maidens of governments". Furthemore, in addition to state that "Western news agencies are now properly resisting those aspects of the 'new information order' that would repress or harass the Western news media in their reportorial functions around the world", he suggests that American news agencies "may gain credibility for their profesional standards by listening attentively to complains that come from the non-socialist states", and "should open a serious dialogue with appropiate Third World leaders"[1].

Sussman's position illustrates well enough the imperialist approach to the problem, to which no real change but a mere rationalization of the system should be enough to calm down Third World aspirations. What is central to this approach is, then, the will to keep the control of the news flow in metropolitan hands. The interests backing this stand are clear as well, for it is openly related to the need for maintaining the conditions necessary to economic domination. Latin America, because of being massively penetrated by American interests, is specially susceptible of being influenced by this will. As a matter of fact, many of these "appropriate" leaders can be found in Latin America, where the American themselves take care of destabilizing those who are not. It is likely that some dialogue of the kind suggested by Sussman might have affected the possibility of accomplishing the resolutions of the conference as well.But recent development makes the creation of alternative news channels unavoidable, as admitted by Sussman himself.

For the majority of the Third World countries - and to some extent also for some developed countries who share the problems of cultural domination - it is evident that the solution to these problems will not come in the form of a paternalistic gift and sudden understanding of those who hold the power. Thus, the insistence in strenghtening self-reliance is not so much a question of dignity as a matter of necessity, if real solutions are to be found for such problems. Always within this perspective, it could be argued that a more equitable distribution of news media correspondents on a worldwide basis would effect changes in the network, and therefore, would affect the flow of international news in the directions expected by the Third World. Phil Harris has considered this possibility and properly signaled that this would mean an increase in the *potential* for increased information, but it is unlikely that an increase in the number of correspondents located in, for example, Africa would dramatically increase the *newsworthiness* of the continent. He thus says: "It is in large part the newsworthiness of an area which determines the deployement of the news media correspondents rather than vice versa"[1]. Moreover, the study of Hester in 1974 showed that in Latin America, the problems of biased reporting do not derive from the amount of correspondents but from the occupational ideology that members of the AP staff hold, which is directly connected to their vision of what the U.S. subscribers want. Also the case of the AP coverage of the Conference held in Costa Rica can be used to illustrate to what extent the problem is not so much the amount of information but the outcome of the central processing of it. It is here then, that the structure, rationale and links of the transnational news agencies come up to show that it is not possible to expect from them more than what they are: machinery designed and created to provide information and diagnosis useful to the conservation of the international system of domination. Thus, it is unlikely that a real change can come up from the mere rationalization of the present system, which is what the position of Sussman implies.

---

[1] Leonard Sussman, op. cit., pp. 877-878.

A different alternative has been presented by the Director of ILET, Juan Somavía, who reminds us that transnational news agencies are foreign organizations to the country they are operating in, and that every country has the sovereign right to establish a framework of responsibility for the activities of "foreign entities" operating on its territory. In this case, "the nature of the mutual benefits their activities confer should be better defined. This should be understood in the broad sense of creating the conditions for secure and responsible information to flow to and from a given country and not exclusively according to the view of a particular government. The legal framework should recognize the agency's freedom of action but, at the same time, orient the exercise of the freedom of information within a context of standards that will make it possible to eliminate or redress the sort of harmful conduct that has been described".[1]

---

[1] Phil Harris, *An Analysis of the West African Wire Service of an International News Agency*. Centre for Mass Communication Research, Leicester, 1976. Paper prepared for the 10th General Assembly and Scientific Conference of IAMCR, September 1976, mimeo. pp. 43.

Thus, in a context given by the acceptance and defence of the need for a "balanced flow of information", Somavía suggests the consideration of the following issues:

"Establishment of a framework of legal and social accountability for the information activities of the agencies.

Presentation by agencies of information regarding:
- Their standards of professional conduct, operational practices and journalistic criteria on the basis of which they intend to carry their work.
- Their central ownership and control structure, and the nature of the operational policy orientation received from the main office.
- Their overall financial and commercial structure, giving sources of income, banking connections, links with advertising and transnational communication enterprises.
- Their desire to cooperate in a positive way in studies undertaken by official or academic organizations with respect to the contents forms and characteristics of their activities.

Recognition of the right of the agencies to a critical analysis - positive or negative - of national events, linked to the establishment of the right to reply similar to that already accepted in national legislation."[2]

The legitimacy of this position is clear, but the feasibility of such measures poses at present even more problems than the creation of alternative news channels. In fact, not only with respect to news agencies but to transnationals in general, there is an evident need for more knowledge of their true nature and impact at all levels. However, this need has found so far the greatest reluctance and aversion on the side of transnationals to open their books and unclose their whole operations. The UN Commission for Transnational Corporations has been entrusted with the elaboration of a Code of Conduct aimed at limiting the undesirable sides of these operations, but even this commission is facing at present the problem of access to relevant sources of information. It is therefore reasonable to expect that this alternative will not crystallize in the near future, and certainly not without many difficulties and struggle. Somavía himself admits that the measures he proposes should be supplemented by other measures aimed at creating and perfecting complementary information channels and strenghtening collective self-reliance in this field among the Third World countries. This brings us to what can be seen as a third alternative for change.

---

[1] Juan Somavía, op. cit., pp. 24.
[2] Juan Somavía, op. cit. p. 26.

This third alternative is presented in the view that the development and expansion of news media organizations in the peripheral areas themselves should lead to an improved international news media network. Harris pointed out that it is doubtful whether this sort of arrangement would have much impact upon the overall media network, for "it is unlikely that the Western advanced areas would, or even could, readily relinquish their control and dominance of the international network. Further development and expansion of indigenous news media organizations on any extensive scale would be prohibitively expensive for underdeveloped areas, if the aim was to alter the international network, indigenous news media organisations in the peripheral areas would have to expand, and in most cases, establish correspondent distribution world-wide"[1]. Thus, he goes on underlining the financial limits to such endeavours. These limits are obviously true, although not necessarily the main obstacle to be faced in the search for alternatives.

In the case of Latin America, Fernando Reyes recently found "the existence of certain journalistic methods that provide a more rounded and better balanced picture of the news, drawing on the different perspectives of the various news agencies at work in the region". However, he found no significant shift in the preponderance of foreign criteria (which refers especially to UPI and AP dominance) and the old shortcomings of dependence still persisting in most of the press.[1] It must be kept in mind that those that have some possibility of using wider news sources are the big newspapers, having an outstanding national position and large circulation. The available studies on the structure of ownership of the communication media in Latin America have shown that the majority of the media owners belong to the oligarchy and industrial or commercial bourgeoisie, normally closely connected to powerful economic and political groups at the national level, as well as having close links to powerful foreign interests, normally in the U.S.[2] Indeed, it is this situation which explains how the campaign launched by IAPA against the Conference held in Costa Rica could spread all over the continent as efficiently as it did. It is also an important reason to believe that to break down the threads of dependence at the media level is not in the interest of the major Latin American media owners. Thus, the possibility of developing indigenous news media or even increasing the amount of own correspondents seems, at least in the case of L.A., and if left to private initiative, most doubtful.

---

[1] Phil Harris, An Analysis of the West African..., op. cit., p. 43.

In fact, one should wonder what could be a good reason for these major media owners to throw away the profitable economic, political and ideological links with foreign transnationals. Moreover, the big media are not without alternatives in Latin America. A number of smaller agencies do operate at the regional level, among them, Prensa Latina and Interpress Service. However, despite of their big efforts to enter the information market, they still have little impact in the field. This is clearly related to their commitment to Third World positions, but there is a clear need for research on the exact role and fate of these agencies in the continent, as they are so far the most noticeable alternative to the major agencies.

---

[1] Fernando Reyes M. The information..., op. cit. pp. 32-33.

[2] See, for instance, Peter Schenkel, La Estructure de Poder de los Medios de Comunicación en cinco Países Latinoamericanos. Comunicación y Cambio Social, ILDIS-CIESPAL, P. Schenkel and Marco Ordónez, editors. Quito (Ecuador), 1975, pp. 13-56.

The fourth alternative lies in the creation of regional news agencies in the underdeveloped areas themselves, which in fact includes the creation or strenghtening of national news agencies. Undoubtly, the most important initiative - at the supra-regional level - has been the creation of the Pool of News Agencies of Non-aligned countries (see p. 33). The first meeting of the Pool co-ordination committee, held in Cairo in January 1977, noted that more than 40 news agencies, in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe were already contributing actively to the news flow of the Pool, and that since 1975, national news agencies had been formed for the first time in 16 non-aligned countries. Five news agencies were already functioning as regional or multilateral collectors and redistributors of news reports and information from other agencies participating in the Pool.[1] Perhaps one of the reasons of the growing success of the Pool is - in addition to the consciousness of its necessity - the manner in which the Pool works: a news agency is considered as a participant if it transmits its selection of news reports to one or more of the Pool's collector-redistributor news agencies, and the redistributing agency translates the report it receives into the languages in which it usually transmits abroad, respecting the substance of the news received. Thus, the Pool works on the basis of voluntary co-operation among equals which is, on the other hand, the only possible way of functioning for such an heterogenous gathering as the non-aligned movement.

So far, the Pool has carried out an enormous task, but as the Director General of Tanjug put it, "many difficulties lay ahead, and some of them persist even today. One of the greatest is undoubtedly the low level of development of national information media and the corresponding inadequacy in their technical facilities". It is therefore in the knowledge of the Pool's co-ordination committee that if the Pool is to develop, the greatest support must be given to underdeveloped countries planning to form their own national agencies. This brings us to the problem of the regional and national news agencies.

---

[1] Pero Ivacic (Director General of Tanjug). The Non-Aligned Countries Pool their News. The Unesco Courier, April 1977, pp. 18-20.

Harris has looked at the development of this idea in the case of Africa, and pointed out the lack of financial capital and the deeper problems of political union which "will inevitably determine the progress of news unions" and minimize the effectiveness of a continental agency.[1] In the case of Latin America, the same problems also exist, but there are also some others that deserve careful examination, as suggested by the examination of the antecedents and outcome of the Intergovernmental Conference held in Costa Rica. Perhaps the most complete and advanced position with respect to this matter was put forward by the meeting of experts in Quito (Ecuador), 1975. In this meeting, several participants underlined the fact that the actual structure of ownership of the media - mostly private - might become an obstacle for the expansion of the national and regional news agencies, among other reasons, because those media are permanent subscribers of the transnational news agencies. It was also stated that financial profits should not be the main reason for the creation of national and regional agencies, but the common political, economic and cultural interests of the countries of the region.

With respect to the national agencies, they were envisioned as public, private or mixed services aiming at national coverage and distribution without discrimination. Furthemore, it was considereded the right policy to face the creation of national agencies as a matter within the competence of the public sector, without excluding the participation of private or mixed enterprises. Also, it was stated that the organization of such agencies should be so as to permit an autonomous administration.

As to the regional news agency, it was suggested to the coming Intergovernmental Conference to constitute a multinational preparatory meeting to deal with this matter, underline the need for participanting governments to protect the said agency and to support it against competition from extra-regional agencies by such means as preferential tariffs and the establishment of percentages of utilization of it by the region's media. 17 out of the 20 experts went as far as stating that the linking of the regional agency to similar efforts in other areas of the world and among the non-aligned movement, would be an important guarantee against the real danger that the information transmitted could be blocked by those media interests foreign to the region which might obstruct the work of such agency and the diffussion of its informations. Also, it was considered that the new agencies could not but compete with established agencies in the areas of fundamental interest for the region as well as include issues that have not received yet the attention they deserve.

---

[1] Phil Harris, An Analysis... op. cit. p. 44.

When these recommendations suggested by the meeting of experts are compared with the resolutions of the Intergovernmental Conference (see pp. 61 and 64, containing resolutions No 16 and 27), several points arise:
The Conference agreed on following: 1) the creation of news agencies is a matter of public concern, 2) the need for their creation at the national and regional level, 3) the need for complementing these efforts with parallel efforts of developing countries and, 4) in the case of the national agencies, the granting of technical facilities (especially concerning telecommunications) to give concrete support to efforts aimed at the creation of the regional agency.

The forming of the multinational preparatory committee as well as a more concrete definition of the ways of supporting them or the resons to give this support, were not discussed in the intergovernmental meeting. Instead, it was decided "to ensure that its establishment will in no way impair the free operation of existing agencies or their future development".[1]

As the structure of the media in Latin America and their links to transnational enterprises are known, the more limited resolution of the Conference means that if the regional agency can be found it will most likely suffer from the same limitations that other alternative agencies have suffered, and the mere existence of it will certainly not change the structure of the communications in the continent. From this point of view, it seems perfectly legitimate to state that from Quito 1975 to Costa Rica 1976, some important items concerning the creation of regional and national news agencies, were left in the road. True, due to the character of the Conference, the idea gained in legitimacy, but it certainly lost in effectivity.

---

[1] Final Report, op. cit. p. 36 (Underlines -RS).

As a matter of fact, the same observation holds true for the rest of the recommendations adopted by the Conference. This problem was discussed in the III National Meeting of Venezuelan Communication Researchers, who when analysing the positive aspects of the Intergovernmental Conference, also noticed: "the permanent allusion - throughout most of the recommendations - to the respect of the private sector and no-impairment of its 'rights', the scarce importance attributed to the participation of the trade unions and journalists, as well the absence of concrete mechanisms for the participation of the communities, means that this set of recommendations cannot lead but - in the best case - to a mere rationalization of the relationship between the private and public sectors".[1]

Many factors have contributed to this outcome and present situation. The strong and efficient campaign launched by IAPA and IAAB, which was fully backed by major international media, show that these organizations constitute an impressive obstacle to any significant change of the media situation in the region. Moreover, the fact that the information on the problem itself is mediated by media enterprises that should be affected by such changes (as it is the case of the AP), is an additional obstacle to the formation of generalized awareness and collective will for change in this field. Thus, a more definite intervention of the states in these matters is all the more necessary and unavoidable, specially because of the strenght of the forces who oppose change.

---

[1] III Encuentro Nacional de Investigadores de la Comunicación. Política y Planificación de la Comunicación Social: Estado Actual del Problema y Papel del Investigador en su Formulación. Informe Final, Caracas, 9-13 Noviembre 1976. Ininco, UCV, Caracas. pp. 24.

However, Latin America and the Caribbean is a region where the political regimes vary from the socialist Cuba to the Chilean fascism. Many governments are openly repressive and not interested in international agreements that would put limits to their actions at the national level. In Latin America the links between the political-economic élites and the major media owners of the region are tight. That is why most of the controversy around the issues touched upon in the Intergovernmental Conference (especially the relations between the private and public sectors), should be understood as contradictions within the power élites in the region. Therefore, the discussion on the feasibility of the possible alternatives for change in this area can hardly avoid going into the analysis of the socio-economic and political structural features of the countries of the region.

It is probably true that many governments would like to enjoy more power over the media in order to prevent the erosion of their legitimacy, which is otherwise menaced by their own unpopular policies. Thus, there is some truth in IAAB's claim when it says, for instance, that what is looked for is "to find the ways of submitting the media to the political power, since out of the state, only the government appears as its representative expression"[1]. True, the lack of concrete mechanism for participation wider than that restricted to governmental circles cannot but lead to an undesirable concentration of the information power. It is, however, also clear that when IAPA and IAAB claim for freedom, and eventually for more participation, they mean freedom of enterprise and their own participation, which is not more than to continue the type of concentration that already exists in the region.

At the international level, the contradictions between the countries producing raw materials and the imperialist centres are obvious and explain much of the Third World positions and the existence of the non-aligned movement. Within the framework provided by these contradictions, many countries have found it necessary to rely on their own communication channels in order to spread over the world the legitimacy of their positions, as well as to facilitate the creation of mechanisms aimed at furthering horizontal cooperation and exchange. In Latin America, such needs put them against the transnational news agencies, but they face difficulties with the traditional power partners at home, too. It is evident that in order to face these tasks, the unlimited freedom of the Latin American media must be curtailed.

---

[1] IAAB Bulletin, October 1975. pp. 14. Original in Spanish.

In some cases, the nationalistic aspirations can provide new stimulus to the search for national channels of communication and to increase the interest in surveying the performance of the national media. In some other cases, the freedom of the media has been curtailed as a natural consequence of the dictatorship. Thus, to some extent IAPA and IAAB have right to fear the attacks from all sorts of governments in the region. Although it is rather delirious to speak of "alliances" at the region level, as they have done, it is true that many factors at the national, regional and international level, although diverse and sometimes even contradictory, work against "freedom of expression" when it is understood as freedom of enterprise.

Also within this context, many countries find it easier to struggle for democracy at the international level than at home, and this explains some of the noticeable achievements of the Intergovernmental Conference (as well as the shortcomings noted by the Venezuelan researchers). For the democratic forces and the organizations really representing the Latin American peoples - normally not in the government -, the present situation opens some possibilities of accumulating strength and to participate. Although limited, the sole existence of the recommendations elaborated in Costa Rica, increases the legitimacy of the need for real participation of the community in the production and circulation of messages. Therefore, all the support must be given to the accomplishment and furthering of such resolutions. Not so long ago an outstanding Venezuelan researcher, Antonio Pasquali, noticed that the progressive political organizations of the continent have not paid enough attention to the problems posed by the present structure and functions of the mass communication media. However, there are ever more reasons to expect that the consciousness of communication researchers and journalists themselves[1], together with the efforts of the more democratic governments of the region, will enrich the political consciousness and lead to an increasing pressure for democracy also in this field and, hopefully, to some changes. To achieve such changes without the widest possible participation of the communities seems, nevertheless, illusory. This problem can only challenge the available proposals to deal with these matters.

Undoubtedly, much work remains to be done in order to open the path to changes. In doing this, however, the socio-economic and political features of the countries concerned must be considered. In the ideological struggle, the cultural domination that the metropolies and the local dominant classes enjoy partly by handling the media, is a powerful tool to maintain the global structure of power. But to believe that the communication field represents the main arena in the social struggle would be to turn the world upside down. On the contrary, and specially when analysing the feasibility of the alternatives for change, it appears that the main economic and political contradictions in these societies have finally reached the field of communications. But in doing so, these are just showing another angle of their faces, not yet disappearing.

---

[1] As expressed, for instance, in the First Congress of the Latin American Journalists held in June 1976. See Documentos del Primer Congreso Latinoamericana de Periodistas, Por un Periodismo Libre en una Patria Libre, UPEC, Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba, 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beltrán, Luis Ramiro. *National Communication Policies in Latin America: a Glance at the First Steps*, Bogotá, mimeo, 1976. Paper prepared for the International Conference on Communication Policy and Planning for Development, Aril 1976, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawai.

Beltrán, L.R., Fox de Cardona, Elizabeth. *Latin American Communication as influenced by the United States*: *The myth of the Free Flow of Information*. Prepared for the Meeting on Communication Policy for the International Exchange of Information. East-West Communications Institute, Honolulu, April 1976.

Bonilla de Ramos, Elsy. Las Agencias Internacionales de Noticias y sus procesos informativos: El estudio de un Caso. *Comunicación y Cambio Social*, ILDIS-CIESPAL, Quito (Ecuador) 1975. pp. 169-182.

Capriles, Oswaldo. *El Estado y los Medios de Comunicación en Venezuela*. Ed. Libreria SUMA, Caracas, August 1976.

Centro Internacional para el Desarrollo. *Las Relaciones Económicas Norte-Sur y los Medios Masivos de Comunicación*. Ed. Libros de Mexico, Mexico D.F., August 1976.

Cuthbert, Marlene. Some observations on the role of mass media in the recent socio-political development of Jamaica. *Caribbean Quaterly* vol. 22, N° 4, December 1976. pp. 50-58.

Documentos del Primer Congreso Latinoamericano de Periodistas, *Por un Periodismo Libre en una Patria Libre*, UPEC, Ciudad de la Habana, 1976.

Elliot, P. and Golding, P. Mass Communication and Social Change: the Imagery of Development and the Development of Imagery. In *Sociology and Development*, E. de Kadt and G. Williams edit., 1973.

Gardner, Mary. The Inter-American Press Association: A brief History. *Journalism Quaterly*, Autumn 1965, 547-556.

Gómez, Luis Aníbal. Danza y Contradanza de una Politica Nacionalmde Comunicaciones, in *El Periodista*, Asociación Venezolana de Periodistas, No 58, Dec-January 1976, Caracas.

Gómez, Luis. A. Fin del Monólogo. Inicio del Diálogo. *Nueva Sociedad*, July-August 1976, Caracas. pp. 35-46.

Hamelink, Cees. *The Corporate Village*, IDOC Europe Dossier Four, Rome 1977.

Harris, Phil. An analysis of the West African Wire Service of an International News Agency. Centre for Mass Communication Research, Leicester, 1976. Mimeo.

Harris, Phil: Colonialism and the Growth of an International Network of Communications, Leicester, mimeo, 1973.

Hester, Albert. The News from Latin America via a World News Agency. Gazette, vol XX, No 2, 1974, pp. 82-98.

IOJ. The Democratic Journalist, April 1977.

IAAB Bulletin, October 1975.

III Encuentro Nacional de Investigadores de la Comunicación. Informe Final, Política y Planificación de la Comunicación Social: Estado actual del problema y papel del investigador en su formulación. Caracas, 9-13 Noviembre 1976. Ininco, UCV, Caracas.

Kaplún, Mario. La Radiotelevisión Latinoamericana frente al Desafio del Desarrollo: Un diagnóstico de Situación. In Radio, TV y Cultura en América Latina. CIESPAL, 1976, pp. 7-62.

Non-Aligned Symposium on Information, La Información en los Países No-alineados, Vol. I, Resoluciones Finales.

Pasquali, Antonio. On the Instrumental Use of Mass Media in America for Purposes of Dependence. Caracas, ININCO, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1975.

Read, William H. America's Mass Media Merchants, The John Hopkins University Press, 1976, pp. 148.

Reyes M., Fernando. The Information Bedazzlement of Latin America. Development Dialogue, 1976:2, pp. 29-42.

Reyes, M., Fernando. America Latina, Kissinger y la UPI: Errores y Omisiones desde Mexico. Chasqui No 7, 1974. pp. 87-108.

Santoro, Eduardo. La información sobre América Latina en una semana de prensa en Caracas. Comunicación y Cambio Social, ILDIS-CIESPAL, Quito, 1975. pp. 207-224.

Sierra de Fernández, María. Flujo de Información de Mexico a través de la Agencia France Presse, con relación a la Prensa Francesa. Chasqui (Revista de Ciespal) No 8, 1975, pp. 45-74.

Schenkel, Peter, La Estructura de Poder de los Medios de Comunicación en Cinco Países Latinoamericanos. Comunicación y Cambio Social, ILDIS-CIESPAL, P. Schenkel and M. Ordónez, Editors. Quito (Ecuador), 1975, pp. 13-56.

Schiller, Herbert. Communication and Cultural Domination, Arts and Sciences Press, Inc. White Plains, N.Y. 1976.

Somavía, Juan. The Transnational Power Structure and the International Information, Elements for a Third World Policy for Transnational News Agencies. In Development Dialogue, 1976:2, pp. 15-28.

Sussman, Leonard. The "March" through the World's Mass Media. Orbis, vol. 20 No 4, Winter 1977, pp. 857-879.

Tran Van Dinh, Non-alignment and Cultural Imperialism. In The Black Scholar, December 1976. pp. 39-49.

UNESCO, Reunión de Expertos para el Intercambio de Noticias en América Latina, COM-75/CONF. 603/4.

UNESCO. The Unesco Courier, April 1977.

UNESCO, Address by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow at the closing meeting of the nineteenth session of the General Conference, 19 C/INF. 23, 18 January, 1977.

UNESCO, Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, Final Report, San José (Costa Rica) 12-21 July 1976. COM/MD/38.

Venezuela en la Unesco, Oficina Central de Información/OCI, Caracas 1976.

RENNY JOKELIN:

ALTERNATIVE NEWS: A CASE STUDY ON "INTER PRESS SERVICE"

In the discussions on the new information order, there are at least three different positions observable. The first approach maintains that the third world countries should totally break their relations with the industrialized countries and through collective self-reliance try to develop their own societies. This would mean a total break in the information flow and communication between third world and the rest of the world. The second approach perceives the creation of a new information order as a struggle which affects progressive forces both in the third world and in the industrialized countries. In international information, this means the creation and strengthening of new alternative sources and channels for communication. The third approach is a more traditional philosophy of a world of "interdependence" where conflicts and social problems are negotiated peacefully in North-South type of confrontations. This thinking implies that in international communication the main problem is the lack of technology and the solution for the third world countries would be a quantitative growth of mass media technology. In fact, it is only a modified version of past official UNESCO thinking on development in the field of communication as it was applied during the 1950's and 1960's and which ran into considerable difficulties in the 1960's.

The second approach has been dominant among the intellectuals and researchers who in recent conferences and meetings have approached the problems of the new international information order. At present, the most concrete forms of alternative sources of international information are the Non-aligned countries' news agency pools. Pioneering activity has been carried out by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, which along with other regional pool centers (India, Iraq, Tunis, Mexico) is coordinating the Non-aligned countries' efforts in creating new structures for international news dissemination.

Before the concrete efforts of the Non-aligned movement, there was already some activity involving an approach to the developing countries, particularly in Latin America, by a news agency called Inter Press Service (IPS). The aim and policy orientation of IPS differs essentially from the large international news agencies.

This description of the history and function of Inter Press Service is based firstly on interviews and discussions with the personnel of IPS, secondly on the few documents available viz. "Inter Press Service: What it is, what it wants" and "Inter Press Service, General Description". Both documents are unofficial papers prepared by the agency for internal use and to be distributed confidentially. Thirdly, the material is based on the reseach carried out at the headquarters of IPS in Rome during May 1977 by the author and research assistant Leena Brandt at the University of Tampere. The report contains complete statistics of the use of IPS material in various countries of the world and by the client papers during the year 1976.

Because of the lack of basic documentation and the heavy dependence on interview material the description of the history and policies consists mainly of citations and answers to concrete questions. In this paper, the author does not analyze the agency in depth, but rather gives a description of its nature and activities. In some cases this has led to simplification. For example the description of the political situation in Latin America and Europe during the 1960's and the changes it underwent are not studied. The author has explained this phenomenon largely in the words of the founders and the personnel of IPS.

The purpose of this study is to describe the function of an agency, whose aims and policy orientations differ significantly from the large international news agencies.

3.1. Political background

At the beginning of the 1960's many Latin American countries were governed by christian democratic parties or parties whose policies could be called reformistic. For example in Chile, Brazil and Argentina there were governments which were aiming at social reforms and an increase in democratic participation by the people. These countries were basically reformistic and in some degree pursued a policy of decreasing dependence on foreign powers.

At the end of the 1960's the political situation in many countries changed. Military coups occurred for example in Brazil in 1964, in Argentina in 1966, Bolivia in 1972, Uruguay in 1973, Chile 1973 and Argentina again in 1976. As is well known the efforts towards basic changes and reforms in Chile ended. At the moment about half the countries of the Latin American continent are ruled by repressive military dictatorship, among them Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina etc.

During the last decade policy in many European countries was moderate and social democratic parties or christian democratic parties won in elections. Centrist bourgeois forces were in power for example in Italy, France and the Federal Republic of Germany (the coalition government of Christian and Social Democrats in 1966).

The "similarity" of the policies of governments in the main countries of both these continents led to an attempt to try to report and get acquainted with the development of these policies - and to learn from the experiment. The functions of Inter Press Service (IPS) has been completely affected by changes in the political situation. This is because the functions of IPS have been very much dependent on contracts and financial agreements with governments.

Inter Press Service was founded by a group of Journalists in countries that shared a common view on the necessity of political and social reforms in the Latin American continent. As the political situation changed and the governments in many countries moved away from the road of reformism, the agreements with the news agency were broken, because IPS in its policy maintained a commitment to social reform and political change. In recent years,in the process of radicalization in Latin America between right and leftwing forces, IPS policy has become more radical and moved towards the thinking of more revolutionary forces in the newly liberated countries in Africa. Its policy has followed the process of de-colonization and the general efforts to create a new international economic and information order.

At the beginning IPS had as its basic policy "to promote awareness everywhere of the cultural, economic, social and political reality of the Third World"[1]. Because of the structure of IPS as a co-operative with members from various countries of the third world, (mainly from Latin America) the agency sees itself as providing an alternative and integrative forum for news disseminator.[2] By alternative the IPS means "transmitting news which is not given by transnational agencies or which is distorted by taking it out of the general picture in which it was produced". IPS is integrative in the sense that in provides a "communications" network at the disposal of national agencies in third world countries in order that they might transmit their information directly to areas of the world which they would otherwise not reach".

---

[1] Inter Press Service: What it is, what it wants. (mimeo 1976)

[2] IPS. General description. (mimeo 1976)

According to its own outlines IPS is not trying to be a "traditional" news agency. It concentrates on analysis and background information of fragmentary daily events, placing them into a larger frame of reference including their international context.

There are different ways of categorizing international news agencies for comparative research. IPS[1] divides the existing news agencies into three categories according to the main sources of their financing and their extent of operations. The first category includes two American world-wide enterprises, UPI and AP. These agencies have national markets which are large enough to finance their own international network. The second group is composed of most of the national news agencies. These agencies need the support of the state in order to get international information and preserve their presence in international markets. French AFP and Soviet TASS can be placed to this category.

The third group consists of agencies which do not have a national market large enough to support their international activities or which do not get state support in the home country. As a rule, these agencies cover their deficits by selling specialized services often in sectors not covered by the daily press. The best example of this kind of agency is Reuters, which relies largely on its service on financial markets around the world.

IPS puts itself into the third category. It does not receive financial support from any specific country nor does it have large national markets. A large part of Inter Press' service consists of special bulletins designed for state companies, universities, labour unions, religious communities. These bulletins are transmitted every Sunday to the clients and they contain basic information concerning energy questions, and religious, academic, financial etc. situations in the countries where IPS has correspondents and offices. This kind of service concentrates on Latin America.

---

[1] IPS: What it is, what it wants (mimeo 1976): interview with Dr Roberto Savio, Director General of IPS, Rome May 1977.

Apart from providing daily and weekly information, IPS also carries out tasks on special contracts. Thus, for example IPS has made films, continues to edit a magazine sponsored by the Italian State (Lettera dall'Italia), and covered the Latin American grand prix with a special correspondent and transmission network and reported in internationally, etc.

All the activities carried out by Inter Press Service come under the common goal of the de-colonialization of third world countries. IPS can function only "to the extent that it is supported by the national forces of the third world based on the idea of the 'de-colonialization of information'".[1] IPS agrees with the decision of non-aligned movement in Algiers in 1973 that the "unity against imperialism is necessary as the only way of facing the existing super-power which is in the hands of traditional agencies".[2]

3.2. Periods of development

Inter Press Service was founded in 1964 and its history can be divided roughly into three main periods:

- from 1964 to 1968 the agency was mainly serving some Latin American governments in their relations with Europe and the principal idea was to have a dialogue between Europe and Latin America to better understand the projects of the same political orientation in the main countries in the two continents.
- from 1968 to 1971, the political situation changed considerably and many IPS offices were closed down.
- from 1971 to the present IPS has developed into a specialized news agency aiming at becoming a "third world" agency and putting forward as its main policy the idea of de-colonialization.

---

[1] Inter Press Service: What it is, what it wants (mimeo 1976), 1.

[2] ibid. page 3.

The Dialogue period 1964-68

Before the cooperative of Inter Press Service was established in 1964, there was a small agency in Rome called Roman Press Agency. Roman Press was founded in order to report on the development of Latin American countries for state officials in Italy. Its news service consisted mainly of feature material. It was delivered by mail and there was no permanent network of writers.

Some Italian and later, for example, French newspapers became interested in the material and the Roman Press Agency decided to widen its activities. In 1964 journalists who had been regularly writing the material gathered in Eicholz, the Federal Republic of Germany, where the IPS was established.

Inter Press Service was founded as a cooperative, owned by the journalists and other personnel working with the agency. According to the principles and rules of the cooperative, no single person can own the majority of, or have a majority vote in IPS. In the General Assembly every share holder - regardless of the amount of the shares - has only one vote. Thus the goals of the agency cannot be determined without a majority backing the issue and the agency cannot be used by its single members for profit making. By accepting the principle, the founders wanted to avoid clashes between shareholders and potential attempts to dominate the agency.

Some 40 journalists participated in Eicholz meeting and they were the original shareholders. After ten years nearly all shareowners of IPS have changed. The founding members had been quite heterogenous in their political viewpoints and had different ideas about how to develop the agency.

The function of the agency started with the governments of Peru, Argentina and Chile. According to the contracts, IPS delivered material to the embassies of the countries in various regions of the world, mainly in Europe and in the Latin American continent itself. The governments prepared a 1000 word bulletin and IPS took care of the technical dissemination of these bulletins. The agreements were acceptable to the governments, because IPS transmitted the messages more cheaply by radioteleprinter than the existing "commercial" telex networks. With the money IPS got from the governments it could deliver the material and at the same time get some extra time to send its own news material to some countries as well where the embassies clients were situated.

During the first years the agency was slowly growing and made agreements with some other Latin American countries. Politically, the idea was to build a "bridge" between Latin America and Europe and this idea had supporters in both continents.

However, the political situation in Latin America and to some extent also in Europe changed quite rapidly during the period. This resulted in the collapse of some contracts with some governments. It became clear that it was not possible to expand democracy and fundamental social reforms, like parliamentary participation, land reforms etc. through these reformist policies. IPS journalists realized that Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" did not work, and saw it as an illusion.

Disappointment among many IPS journalists in the changes in political situation marked by reactionary coups led the cooperative to take a more radical stand on the issue of decolonialization. Parallel to this development in Latin America, IPS also saw that in European countries there was no interest in the development of third world societies.

The collapse of 1968-71

The collapses in political support and contracts with many countries led Inter Press to the brink of disaperance. During these years IPS had few active offices in Latin America. In Europe the regional office in Rome worked actively. In 1968 the regional headquarters of Latin America was moved from Santiago de Chile to Buenos Aires. In spite of the difficult situation IPS continued its activities and the daily material was transmitted regularly, at times even with small increases. According to the agency, the only aim at the time was to survive.

Reorientation in 1971

The historical point for Inter Press Service was the agreement reached with the Yugoslavian news agency Tanjug in 1971. Under the agreement IPS was to distribute through its satellite network news prepared in Spanish by Tanjug to Latin America. In fact, Tanjug hired the IPS network; the material was credited to Tanjug.

Politically and financially this agreement was quite decisive for Inter Press Service. The situation in Latin America, where IPS has been most active, has not changed considerably. Worse still, during the 1970's even more countries are being governed by reactionary military groups. The possibilities for IPS expanding its role freely are difficult - or none at all.

The agreement with Tanjug was only one of the new steps taken by IPS at the beginning of this decade. Agreements with INA, the Iraqi news agency, with Venpress, the Venezuelan news agency and with Arna, the Libyan news agency, were reached and are in operation. At the same time the agency developed its news policy towards the basic idea of decolonialization of third world nations. The Agency also obtained international recognition when the "Group of 77" chose IPS as the official reported at their meeting in Lima in 1971, and at the third meeting of UNCTAD in Santiago de Chile in 1972. At the moment, IPS has agreements with some UN agencies.

The growth of the movement of non-aligned countries has also been an important phenomenon for Inter Press Service. Non-aligned countries have developed a network of news agencies linked together through five regional pools. The decision to develop the pool system was taken in Algiers in 1973. Tanjug as a coordinating agency for the pool started making bilateral agreements in 1975. Today some forty countries are participating in the pools.[1]

During the last few years Inter Press Service has been reorienting its policy and function. The idea of decolonization has widened the scope of activities from Latin America also to other regions. Contracts have been made with some African and Arab countries. Offices are being established in Europe in order to inform the developed countries of the IPS view point on events in the third world.

3.3. The service

Inter Press Service distributes news material in four languages: Spanish, English, French and Arabic. Spanish-language material is transmitted 12 hours a day and remains the main service of IPS. English, French and Arabic material is sent each four hours daily. They are mainly summaries of the Spanish reports and analyses. The English service is being developed most during 1977 and at the same time French is being used less.

Most of the countries linked with IPS are still Spanish speaking, like most of its client papers. Also in Europe many newspapers receive IPS material in Spanish and translate in into their own languages. In some cases the material is received by spanish-speaking specialists on Latin America.

Of the twelve hours transmitted in Spanish 2/3 are - according to IPS documentation - written by IPS journalists. The remaining four hours are prepared with the national agencies linked with Inter Press.[2]

---

[1] e.g. Varis, Tapio: World Information Order. Instant Research on Peace and Violence n:o 4/1976. See also Report on the Non-aligned news agencies' pools by Tanjug. Meeting of Ministers of Information and Directors of News Agencies on the Non-aligned countries, New Delhi, July 8-13/76.

[2] Interview with the personnel of IPS. The study made by the author on a three day sample suggests that the number of "own" items is about a half of the total transmissions. However, on the basis of text lines and telex time, the amount of IPS material is about 2/3. See also page 101.

Recipients

Inter Press Service news material (including material written by IPS staff and the material from national news agencies and the pool) is received daily by some 400 newspapers and institutions. These clients are located mainly in Latin America and Western Europe; also Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary receive IPS material. During 1977 the focus has been on spreading the service to some African and Arab countries, as well. Technically the material is transmitted through a teleprinter satellite networks or radio to IPS offices or national news agency headquarters in various countries as well by teleprinter or messanger and is distributed to the receivers in the recipient country.

Inter Press Service has offices correspondents with in some 30-35 countries. The figure is not precise because in some countries the political situation has changed and the correspondents cannot carry out their activities in a normal way. In some countries negotiations are under way to install offices. The office network is most dense in Latin America, with about half the total number of offices located in the continent.

Inter Press Service has agreements with 18 news agencies to receive and edit their material. However, the material sent by Tanjug is transmitted in its original text without editing. Transmissions between six of the agencies started officially during 1977 (see table 1).

Inter Press Service has agreements also for instance with Italian ADN-KRONOS, which is distributing IPS material to Italian newspapers. There are also contacts with the Hungarian news agency MTI and Portuguese ANOP. Negotiations are under way with some countries to make similar agreements. Agreement with the Dutch news agency A.N.P. was signed in September 1977.

Table 1. Agencies and countries which had agreements with Inter Press Service in May 1977.

TANJUG		Yugoslavia
APS	+	Algeria
AGERPRESS		Rumania
NOTIMEX		Mexico
INA		Iraq
ARNA		Libya
TAP		Tunisia
ANGOP	+	Angola
SHIHATA	+	Tanzania
SONNA	+	Somalia
WAFA		Palestine
AIM	+	Mozambique
ANDINA		Peru
NAN		Japan
COLPRESS	+	Colombia
PANAPRESS		Panama
TELAM	+	Argentina
VENPRESS		Venezuela

+ starting officially during 1977

The agreements of Inter Press Service with the national news agencies are of three types, depending on the wealth and nature of the country. Firstly there are agreements for example with oil producing countries like Iraq, Venezuela and Libya. Inter Press Service is distributing one hour material produced by national agencies in these countries and selling its service to them. Some of the countries pay for the service and support the activities of IPS also otherwise.

Secondly, IPS has agreements with poor countries or countries which have recently achieved independence like Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania etc. These countries do not pay all the costs of transmissions. For instance the Mozambique news agency AIM is linked by telex to the nearest IPS office (in Lisboa, Portugal). Mozambique only pays for its telex costs and a certain sum of money for the service it receives. These payments are made in national currency with which IPS later establishes its own office in the country.

Thirdly, IPS disseminates the information prepared by liberation movements or other groups that are not able to function regularly and in permanent places. This information is transmitted without any compensation.

According to the agreements Inter Press Service gets a certain amount of material from the agencies every day. These amounts, of course, depend on events in the countries. The central desk in Rome edits the material and then sends the final package to all of its clients. For instance if some agency delivers three hours of material on a subject, IPS may edit a twenty-minute transmission out of it. In editing IPS is not allowed to change the contents of the original material. This can always be checked by the originators, because the prepared material is transmitted back to all clients.

Inter Press Service has multilateral agreements with TANJUG and NOTIMEX to distribute the material of the non-aligned pools. The contracts with the pool assume that IPS transmits the material to all countries even if it does not have official agreements with the receiving country or agency.

According to the policy of Inter Press Service the agency does not seek agreements with countries that it believes exercise neocolonialistic practices. It does not make contracts with the national agencies of these countries, but if it is allowed, it establishes its own office in the country and reports of the events from its own point of view. This may differ completely from the reporting of national agencies in these countries.

3.4. The contents of inter press transmissions

As its main service, Inter Press Service transmits twelve hours a day in Spanish. Some 70-85 items are handled daily. Of these about a half are original material from IPS journalists and the other half comes from the agencies linked with Inter Press Service. Concerning this half IPS edits in Rome all the material with the exception of items from TANJUG, which are transmitted in original text to the clients. On Sundays the amount of original IPS material is considerably larger because the special bulletins are delivered on that day.

Results of the analysis made in May 1977 show that approximately two thirds of IPS material deals with politics. The analysis was made on the basis of three days only and must be seen a rough measure.

Of the 230 items transmitted during the three days 112 were written by IPS staff, 40 were taken directly from Tanjug and 78 items came from national agencies (and were edited by IPS).[1]

Table 2. Contents of Inter Press Service during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

POLITICS	
General Politics, domestic	44 items
Intern. Pol., conferences etc.	51 items
Conflict areas, liber. mov.	27 items
	122 items
FINANCIAL AFFAIRS	48 items
CULTURE, SCIENCE	11 items
CATASTROPHES	3 items
OTHERS	6 items
total	190 items
+ material by Tanjug	40 items

---

[1] The length of the items are 30-50 lines each. The items written by IPS staff are longer than the items by various agencies. Thus, although during the three day sample IPS originated only a half of the number of items (2112) they made up 2/3 of the lines and time of the transmission (4960 lines). The 40 items by Tanjug made 1263 lines and the other 78 items 2202 lines. This information was provided by IPS.

Table 3. Origination of the items of IPS transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

INTER PRESS	112 items
INA (Iraq)	44 items
AIM (Mozambique)	15 items
ARNA (Libya)	10 items
VENPRESS (Venezuela)	4 items
NOTIMEX (Mexico)	2 items
SHIHATA (Tanzania)	1 item
NAN (Japan)	1 item
OPEP (+)	1 item
TANJUG (Yugoslavia)	40 items
total	230 items

+ special arrangement with OPEC

Along with IPS material itself and material by Tanjug, reports came during the period mostly from Iraq, Mozambique and Libya.

The biggest group of the items came from or dealt with Latin America. Daily some 35-42 per cent of the analyses cover the affairs of Latin American societies.

Table 4. Subject areas of the items of IPS transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

LATIN AMERICA	74 items	38,9 %
ARAB COUNTRIES	59 items	31,1 %
EUROPE	34 items	17,9 %
AFRICA	19 items	10,0 %
ASIA	3 items	1,6 %
OTHERS	1 item	0,5 %
total	190 items	100,0 %

material by Tanjug is excluded

In Latin America the coverage during the three day period focussed mainly on Chile and Colombia. Over a half of the items reported events in these countries.

Table 5. Reports from various countries of Latin America in Inter Press transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

Chile	22 items
Colombia	17 items
Venezuela	9 items
Mexico	5 items
Argentina	4 items
Peru	4 items
Bolivia	3 items
Paraguay	2 items
Uruguay	2 items
Ecuador	2 items
Jamaica	1 item
El Salvador	1 item
Latin America	2 items
total	74 items

After the coverage of Latin America, events in the Arab world are reported regularly. On the whole, some 30 per cent of the items reported on events in Arab countries. The coverage concentrated during the three studied days on the affairs of four countries: Iraq, Lebanon, Libya and Egypt.

Table 6. Reports from various Arab countries covered in Inter Press Service transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

Iraq	16 items
Lebanon	13 items
Libya	9 items
Egypt	8 items
United Arab Emirates	4 items
Tunisia	3 items
Saudi Arabia	1 item
Syria	1 item
Sudan	1 item
Kuwait	1 item
Middle East	2 items
total	59 items

Europe ranked as third of the subject areas in IPS reporting during the three study days of the Spanish material. Events only in few European countries were reported, most often those in Italy. This is due to the fact that IPS has a large staff (40) and central editorial desk in Rome.

Table 7. Reports from various countries in Europe covered in Inter Press Service transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

Italy	12 items
Portugal	7 items
Fed. Rep. of Germany	7 items
France	3 items
United Kingdom	3 items
Cyprus	1 item
Switzerland	1 item
total	34 items

The coverage of events in Africa and Asia has been developed most during 1977. These areas are, however, still quite seldom covered daily IPS transmissions. During the three day sample most stories from Africa came from Mozambique.

Table 8. Reports from various countries in Africa covered in Inter Press Service transmission during three days (May the 13, 16 and 17, 1977)

Mozambique	11 items
West Sahara	2 items
Tanzania	1 item
Angola	1 item
Senegal	1 item
Zambia/Rhodesia	1 item
Djibouti	1 item
Zaire	1 item
total	19 items

During the three days in May 1977 only three items came from Asia, Philippines, Korea and Indonesia. Apart from items from the above mentioned countries, one report covered the relations between Europe and Arab countries.

3.5. Consumption of inter press material

The consumption of the material transmitted by Inter Press was studied by exploring the documentation and archives of the agency in Rome. According to the estimations of Inter Press Service some 70 per cent of the articles published in various newspapers can be documented. Thus the figures given in tables 9-11 are somewhat below the real figures of consumption.

The documentation is made difficult by the fact that many European newspapers do not publish the material under the names of news agencies, but use it as part of their own material. Even some of these articles are documented in IPS, because of easy recognition of the material. Documentation is made daily in Europe and immediately after receiving the newspapers from various regions of the world.

In many cases the reports and analyses deal with more than one country. However, in IPS documentation every report is documented only once in the country that is the main subject of the item. This system of documentation has been used in the tables 9-11. Thus the locations of the reports to various categories is made by IPS and not by the authors.

Table 9 presents the total amounts of articles published in various countries. During the year 1976 altogether 12 262 articles were with IPS monogram documented by IPS. The usage of the material is significant in some ten countries. Of these seven are Latin American countries and three European countries.

Latin America remains the area where IPS material is published most and very regularly. The consumption (by the press) of the material is widest in Mexico and Peru. Nearly one fourth of all articles are published in Mexico alone. IPS material is published largely also in Colombia, Argentina and Bolivia. The consumption of the material in the two latter countries

Table 9. Total amounts of IPS material published in various countries in the year 1976

1.	Mexico	2 939	articles	
2.	Peru	2 414		
3.	Colombia	1 893		
4.	Argentina	1 651		Jan.-August 1976
5.	Bolivia	1 171		Jan.-Oct. 1976
6.	Italy	670		
7.	Portugal	575		May-Dec. 1976
8.	Venezuela	477		May-Dec. 1976
9.	Chile	290		
10.	United Kingdom	127		July-Dec. 1976
11.	Panama	29		(Panapres material)
12.	Brazil +	9		
13.	Vatican	5		
14.	France +	4		from Dec. 1976
15.	Paraguay +	3		
16.	Tunisia	2		from Dec. 1976
17.	Sri Lanka +	2		
18.	Uruguay +	0		
19.	Yugoslavia	-		(estim; 350-400)
20.	Hungary	-		(estim; 175-200)
21.	Rumania	-		(estim; 175-200)
22.	Fed. Rep. Germany +	1		(starting 1977)
total		12 262	articles	

+ no distribution in 1976

decreased at the end of 1976. In Argentina, IPS could not distribute its material at all after the military coup in August. In Europe IPS material is published most in Italy, Portugal and the United Kingdom. In Portugal the distribution on Inter Press material began effectively in May. Thus the figure (575 articles) describes the usage of the material during half a year. During 1977 Portuguese newspapers have increased publishing IPS reports.

As for the publishing of IPS material in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania, no exact figures can be given, because documentation in these countries is slow. According to the estimations of IPS, newspapers in these countries publish hundreds of IPS articles annually.

As Table 9 shows, the newspapers of Latin America use IPS material most often. The affairs of Latin America are also reported most in IPS material. In the published articles Latin America is the main subject area (Table 10).

Table 10. The amount of IPS articles on various subject areas published in newspapers during 1976

1. Latin America	5 281	articles
2. Europe	3 196	
3. Arab countries	1 424	
4. Internat. organizations	1 375	
5. Africa	369	
6. Asia	313	
7. North America	276	
8. South Atlantic	22	
9. Indian Ocean	3	
10. Australia	3	
total	12 262	articles

Of the newspaper articles over 5 200 reported events in Latin American countries. Over 3 000 articles dealt with European events. The affairs of Arab countries and the activities of various international organizations (such as UN, SELA, OPEC, UNDP, Andean Pact, OAS, UNCTAD, FAO, Comecon, EEC) are reported by IPS and published by its client papers very often.

Although Latin American affairs are reported most often by the papers, Italy has been of highest interest if the subject countries are looked at separately. The client papers of IPS published during 1976 altogether 1 653 articles on Italy. Table 11 shows also that Argentina, Chile and Lebanon have been of much interest to the clients. The affairs of then countries made up about half of all events reported.

Table 11. The amount of IPS articles on various subject countries in newspapers during 1976

1.	Italy	1 653 articles
2.	Argentine	1 074
3.	Chile	875
4.	Lebanon	808
5.	Portugal	481
6.	Brazil	478
7.	Mexico	449
8.	Peru	369
9.	Colombia	301
10.	Panama	269
11.	Venezuela	241
12.	Yugoslavia	225
	Others	5 039
total		12 262 articles

Inter Press Service delivers its material to some 400 hundred newspapers magazines and institutions. According to our research some 60-70 newspapers publish the material regularly and also inform the readers who the originating agency is. During 1976 eleven newspapers published more than 300 Inter Press articles, approximately one every day (Table 12).

Table 12. The main publishers of Inter Press material in 1976

newspaper	country	amount of articles
El Dia	Mexico	1 593
Presencia	Bolivia	1 171
El Comercio	Peru	1 032
El Frente	Colombia	945
El Correo	Colombia	466
El Universal	Mexico	427
La Cronica	Peru	396
El Expreso	Peru	362
Correo Economico	Mexico	357
Excelsior	Mexico	337
La Opinion	Argentina	304

The biggest publishers can be found in Latin American countries. El Dia (Mexico) published nearly 1 600 articles, Presencia (Bolivia) and El Comercio (Peru) more than 1 000 articles. In European countries big users of IPS material are Diario de

Lisboa and Pagina Um in Portugal, News Line and the Guardian in United Kingdom and La Repubblica, Il Manifesto, Avanti!, L'Unita and Il Globo in Italy.

3.6. Summary

The present paper has described the development of one particular news agency in the process of creating alternative news sources in the new international information order. The purpose has not been to compare IPS to other efforts of the developing countries nor to the existing transnational information network but rather to describe the functioning and philosophy of IPS in order to stimulate further studies and discussion. IPS has changed fundamentally during the thirteen years of its existence reflecting changes in the political and economic efforts to create a more equal and fair world system.

The first period of an idea of cooperation between "North and South" in good will in the 1960's failed. At present, IPS has been expanding to the "third world" and also to some areas of the industrialized countries. The reactions of Western mass media to IPS material has not yet been documented but IPS is quite widely used, for example, in Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia, England, Hungary, Romania and by many Western so called quality newspapers although the national agencies of their countries would not subscribe to IPS. Not yet documented either is how the big transnational news agencies react to the existence of IPS. It is known that their criticism against the Non-aligned countries pool increased after the pool gained more status in world information structure.

From the point of the new international information order it is important to study the development of both IPS and the Non-aligned countries official pools, especially the experience of TANJUG. The development during the last few years has been so rapid that the overall picture and tendencies are not very clear. Furthermore, it would be most interesting to analyse the effect of the new information sources on the contents of international news in all parts of the world. Certain aspects of the success of IPS or the Non-aligned countries pool-system remain to be explored. For example, the old political, economic, and information system has strengthened the fragmentation of the third world countries instead of mutual cooperation between them. Information has been flowing from the ruling countries or foreign dominators to the large number of third world countries instead of being replaced by a mutual flow of information between them. The third world countries have been dependent in technology as well as in the contents of their information systems on the industrialized ruling countries instead of on collective self-reliance in information and technology. In addition to these aspects, the third world has been strongly penetrated by the transnational system of socio-economic exploitation both by transnational and certain fragments of local forces which were formed by the transnational socio-economic processes. The opposite trend would lead to sovereignty not only in political but also in cultural life including the full rights to develop own systems of mass communication.[1]

Consequently, the functions of IPS and the Non-aligned pools should be followed mainly in the light how well they contribute to the creation of horizontal, mutual information systems between the third world countries, and how well they add to the collective self-reliance of the developing countries in information and technology. They should also contribute to the creation of sovereign and equal systems of international information dissemination in the process of de-colonization of information. In addition to these main aspects, it is also important to study how these agencies are received by the established mass media in Europe and North America.

---

[1] For a general discussion of the new economic order, see Unto Vesa "Uusi Kansainvälinen Taloudellinen Järjestys", Tampere Peace and Conlict Research Institute, No 6, 1977.

APPENDIX - IPS

Jokelin

The information contained in the following statistics has been collected from the documentation and archives of Inter Press Service in Rome during May 1977. In May almost all of the articles published in various newspapers in various countries in 1976 had been gathered in the Rome headquarters. Information from Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania was not yet ready and figures for these countries are estimations.

Inter Press Service material has been published in 24 countries (see summary in table 9, page 107). In 1976 newspapers in thirteen countries published IPS material regularly. In eight countries material was published seldom. Some newspapers subscribed to IPS service from May or later on in 1976.

The following tables present firstly: what newspapers have published and how much IPS material in 1976? Secondly: what have been the subject areas of the world (or what areas of the world the world the IPS reports and analyses have dealt with[1])? Thirdly: what have been the subject countries of IPS reporting published by various newspapers in the country.

---

[1] Example: If the newspaper "El Dia" (in Mexico) has published an article (written by IPS) on the parliamentary elections in Italy, the article has been included in "newspapers" (El Dia), in subject area "Europe" and subject country "Italy".

MEXICO

total 2939 articles

Newspapers

El Dia	1593
Universal	427
Correo Economico	357
Excelsior	337
Diario de la Noche	92
Nacional	76
S.P.	50
Variedades	5
Unidad	1
El Sol de Mexico	1
total	2939

Subject Areas

Latin America	1093
Europe	771
Arab countries	415
Africa	134
Asia	103
North America	54
Others	2
Organizations	367
total	2939

Subject countries

LATIN AMERICA	
Argentina	240
Chile	182
Peru	100
Colombia	81
Brazil	71
Uruguay	54
Mexico	47
Panama	47
Venezuela	42
Ecuador	34
Bolivia	23
Paraguay	21
Cuba	14
Haiti	9
Dom. Republic	9
Others (7)	32
Latin America	87
total	1093

EUROPE	
Italy	274
Portugal	148
Yugoslavia	123
Spain	44
United Kingdom	38
France	35
Fed.Rep. of G.	29
Vatican	19
DDR	11
Soviet Union	10
Rumania	7
Switzerland	5
Others (9)	20
Europe	4
Balcans	3
Mediterranean	1
total	771

P/ MEXICO PART 3

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	237
	Palestine	25
	Egypt	22
	Libya	21
	Morocco	17
	Irak	14
	Syria	9
	Sudan	7
	Others (6)	10
	Israel-Arabs	42
	Middle East	11
	total	415
AFRICA	Angola	59
	Rhodesia	27
	South Africa	11
	Djibouti	7
	Etiopia	4
	Tansania	3
	Others (11)	15
	Africa	8
	total	134
NORTH AMERICA	USA	50
	Canada	4
	total	54

P/ MEXICO PART 4

Subject countries:

ASIA	China	49
	India	8
	Israel	7
	Vietnam	7
	Thailand	6
	Japan	6
	Sri Lanka	5
	Indonesia	3
	Philippines	3
	Corea	1
	Cambodia	1
	Far East	5
	South-East Asia	2
	total	103
SOUTH ATLANTIC		1
INDIAN OCEAN		1
ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	180
	Int. econ. rel.	45
	Andian Pact	32
	UN	20
	OPEC	17
	OAS	13
	Raw materials	13
	FAO	11
	Sela	11
	EEC	9
	Others	16
	total	367

PERU

TOTAL 2414 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

EL COMERCIO	1032
LA CRONICA	396
EL EXPRESO	362
LA PRENSA	253
EL CORREO	199
LA ULTIMA HORA	82
CALLAO	52
OTHERS (5)	38
total	2414

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	1077
EUROPE	514
ARAB COUNTRIES	221
AFRICA	106
ASIA	80
NORTH AMERICA	79
SOUTH ATLANTIC	4
AUSTRALIA	1
ORGANIZATIONS	332
total	2414

P/ PERU PART 2

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Argentina	218
	Chile	132
	Brazil	106
	Mexico	103
	Panama	90
	Colombia	80
	Venezuela	66
	Uruguay	49
	Bolivia	42
	Ecuador	39
	Peru	16
	Dominican Rep.	13
	Paraguay	12
	Others (11)	45
	Latin America	66
	total	1077
EUROPE	Italy	228
	Portugal	75
	Yugoslavia	39
	France	36
	Fed.Rep. of Ger.	25
	Vatican	25
	Spain	23
	United Kingdom	18
	Soviet Union	9
	Belgium	4
	Others (13)	25
	Europe	7
	total	514

P/ PERU PART 3

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	98
	Libya	22
	Palestine	22
	Morocco	14
	Egypt	12
	Algeria	9
	Saudi-Arabia	6
	Iraq	6
	Others (7)	13
	Middle East	14
	Israel-Arabs	5
	total	221
AFRICA	Angola	29
	South Africa	21
	Rhodesia	19
	Djibouti	4
	Namibia	3
	Nigeria	3
	Others (10)	13
	Africa	14
	total	106
NORTH AMERICA	USA	74
	Canada	5
	total	79

P/ PERU PART 4

Subject countries:

ASIA	China	46
	Japan	8
	Thailand	4
	Cambodia	3
	Sri Lanka	3
	Israel	3
	Philippines	2
	India	2
	Vietnam	2
	Others (3)	3
	Asia	2
	Far East	1
	South-East A.	1
	total	80
SOUTH ATLANTIC		4
AUSTRALIA		1
ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	134
	Andian Pact	32
	UN	26
	Sela	25
	Int.econ.rel.	24
	OAS	21
	OPEC	16
	FAO	15
	Raw materials	14
	EEC	11
	Others	14
	total	332

P/ COLOMBIA 1976 ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN COLOMBIAN NEWSPAPERS

TOTAL 1893 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

EL FRENTE	945
EL CORREO	466
LA PATRIA	278
EL CAMPESINO	77
OTHERS (c. 10)	127
total	1893

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	932
EUROPE	451
ARAB COUNTRIES	200
ASIA	43
NORTH AMERICA	38
AFRICA	36
OTHERS	7
ORGANIZATIONS	186
total	1893

P/ COLOMBIA PART 2 1976

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Argentina	209
	Chile	169
	Mexico	103
	Brazil	75
	Peru	68
	Venezuela	64
	Panama	37
	Ecuador	34
	Uruguay	31
	Bolivia	23
	Dominican R.	20
	Paraguay	16
	Colombia	16
	Cuba	13
	Latin America	39
	Others (10)	15
	total	932
EUROPE	Italy	199
	Portugal	58
	Yugoslavia	41
	FRG	33
	France	27
	Vatican	22
	Spain	21
	United Kingdom	16
	Soviet Union	12
	Balcans	1
	Others (15)	21
	total	451

P/ COLOMBIA PART 3 1976

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	68
	Iraq	26
	Libya	25
	Palestine	15
	Egypt	12
	Morocco	10
	Suez	5
	Algeria	4
	Sudan	3
	Syria	3
	Saudi-Arabia	2
	Tunis	2
	Yemen	1
	Kuwait	1
	Oman	1
	Israel-Arab conflict	13
	Middle East	9
	total	200
ASIA	China	19
	Japan	7
	India	4
	Cambodia	3
	Israel	2
	Philippines	2
	Thailand	2
	Vietnam	2
	South-East A.	2
	total	43
NORTH AMERICA	United States	30
	Canada	8
	total	38

P/ COLOMBIA PART 4

Subject countries:

AFRICA	Angola	15
	South Africa	6
	Namibia	4
	Rhodesia	4
	Somalia	2
	Djibouti	1
	Ghana	1
	Nigeria	1
	Zaire	1
	Africa	1
	total	36
SOUTH ATLANTIC		5
INDIAN OCEAN		2
ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	68
	Andian Pact	38
	FAO	14
	UN	12
	OPEC	12
	OAS	9
	Raw materials	8
	EEC	6
	Int. econ. rel.	6
	Others	13
	total	186

P/ ARGENTINA ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN ARGENTINE NEWSPAPERS

TOTAL 1651 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

LA OPINION	304
HOY	277
PRENSA LIBRE	266
MAYORIA	218
EL CRONISTA	157
EL INDEPENDIENTE	122
CRONISTA COMERCIAL	92
OTHERS	215
total	1651

Subject areas:

EUROPE	659
LATIN AMERICA	637
ARAB COUNTRIES	122
NORTH AMERICA	37
ASIA	31
AFRICA	25
AUSTRALIA	2
SOUTH ATLANTIC	1
ORGANIZATIONS	137
total	1651

P/ ARGENTINA PART 2

Subject countries:

EUROPE	Italy	517
	Vatican	33
	Portugal	25
	United Kingdom	16
	France	14
	Fed. Rep of G.	13
	Yugoslavia	12
	Spain	10
	Soviet Union	4
	Others (10)	15
	total	659
LATIN AMERICA	Chile	111
	Mexico	68
	Peru	64
	Brazil	87
	Colombia	55
	Venezuela	35
	Panama	31
	Argentina	29
	Uruguay	28
	Bolivia	25
	Ecuador	20
	Paraguay	18
	Guatemala	6
	Others (7)	17
	Latin America	43
	total	637

P/ ARGENTINA PART 3

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	75
	Libya	20
	Morocco	6
	Palestine	5
	Egypt	3
	Others (5)	7
	Middle East	6
	total	122
NORTH AMERICA	USA	36
	Canada	1
	total	37
ASIA	China	20
	Japan	7
	India	3
	Israel	1
	total	31
AFRICA	Angola	14
	Etiopia	2
	South Africa	2
	Others (5)	5
	Africa	2
	total	25
AUSTRALIA		2
SOUTH ATLANTIC		1

ARGENTINA PART 4

Subjects:

ORGANIZATIONS	Sela	27
	OAS	20
	FAO	19
	Andian Pact	10
	UN	10
	EEC	10
	Non-aligned	9
	Others	32
	total	137

P/ BOLIVIA 1976 ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN BOLIVIAN NEWSPAPERS

TOTAL 1171 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

PRESENCIA	1171

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	588
EUROPE	369
ARAB COUNTRIES	46
ASIA	18
NORTH AMERICA	17
AFRICA	16
SOUTH ATLANTIC	4
ORGANIZATIONS	113
total	1171

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Chile	128
	Argentina	122
	Mexico	59
	Peru	52
	Brazil	41
	Colombia	27
	Panama	25
	Uruguay	22
	Venezuela	20
	Ecuador	16
	Paraguay	11
	Cuba	6
	Others (11)	23
	Latin America	36
	total	588

P/ BOLIVIA PART 2

Subject countries:

EUROPE	Italy	219
	Portugal	77
	Fed. Rep. of G.	38
	Vatican	8
	France	7
	United Kingdom	4
	Soviet Union	4
	Others (7)	11
	Europe	1
	total	369
ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	19
	Libya	4
	Egypt	4
	Palestine	3
	Sudan	3
	Others (4)	6
	Israel-Arabs	6
	Middle East	1
	total	46
ASIA	China	8
	Japan	4
	Corea	1
	India	1
	Indonesia	1
	Thailand	1
	Far East	2
	total	18
AFRICA	Angola	6
	South Africa	4
	Djibouti	2
	Rhodesia	2
	Namibia	1
	Uganda	1
	total	16

P/ BOLIVIA PART 3

Subject countries:

SOUTH ATLANTIC		4
ORGANIZATIONS	Andian Pact	23
	OAS	18
	Non-aligned	18
	FAO	13
	UN	10
	Int. econ. rel.	9
	Sela	6
	Others (9)	16
	total	113

ITALY

TOTAL 670 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

LA REPUBBLICA	192
IL MANIFESTO	82
AVANTI!	79
L'UNITA	52
IL GLOBO	46
AVVENIRE	44
IL SOLE-24 ORA	42
IL MESSAGERO	39
PAESE SERA	39
IL POPOLO	18
L'ESPRESSO	16
IL GIORNO	12
OTHERS	9
total	670

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	353
ARAB COUNTRIES	130
EUROPE	65
AFRICA	4
ASIA	2
ORGANIZATIONS	116
total	670

P/ ITALY PART 2

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Argentina	157
	Chile	67
	Uruguay	24
	Peru	18
	Mexico	16
	Brazil	16
	Bolivia	14
	Panama	8
	Colombia	5
	Cuba	3
	Others (7)	11
	Latin America	14
	total	353
ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	106
	Palestine	5
	Libya	5
	Irak	4
	Syria	3
	Egypt	3
	Israel-Arab	3
	Saudi Arabia	1
	total	130
EUROPE	Portugal	56
	Vatican	5
	Yugoslavia	3
	Spain	1
	total	65
AFRICA	Angola	2
	Mozambik	1
	Rhodesia	1
	total	4

P/ ITALY PART 3

Subject countries:

ASIA	China	1
	Israel	1
	total	2
ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	85
	OAS	24
	Andian Pact	3
	Int. econ. rel.	2
	Sela	2
	total	116

PORTUGAL 1976

TOTAL 575 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

DIARIO DE LSIBOA	270
PAGINA UM	133
OPCAO	75
O DIARIO	58
EXPRESSO	24
GAZETA DE SEMANA	8
25 DE ABRIL	4
O JORNAL	1
SESTA FEIRA	1
REVISTA VOO	1
total	575

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	231
ARAB COUNTRIES	115
EUROPE	92
AFRICA	32
NORTH AMERICA	28
ASIA	13
OTHERS	3
ORGANIZATIONS	61
total	575

P/ PORTUGAL PART 2 1976

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Chile	43
	Argentina	37
	Brazil	35
	Mexico	21
	Panama	18
	Peru	15
	Uruguay	8
	Colombia	6
	Venezuela	5
	Cuba	4
	Ecuador	4
	Haiti	4
	Others (9)	16
	Latin America	15
	total	231

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	67
	Palestine	8
	Libya	8
	Egypt	7
	Sudan	7
	Algeria	1
	Iraq	1
	Iran	1
	Syria	1
	Tunisia	1
	Israel-Arabs	13
	total	115

P/ PORTUGAL PART 3 1976

Subject countries:

EUROPE	Italy	48
	Portugal	10
	UK	7
	Spain	6
	France	4
	FRG	4
	Vatican	3
	Others (8)	8
	Europa	2
	total	92
AFRICA	South Africa	9
	Angola	6
	Rhodesia	6
	Namibia	3
	Etiopia	2
	Others (5)	5
	Africa	1
	total	32
NORTH AMERICA	USA	28
ASIA	China	4
	India	2
	Israel	2
	Thailand	2
	Vietnam	1
	Cambodia	1
	Corea	1
	total	13
OTHERS	South Atlantic	3

P/ PORTUGAL PART 4 1976

Subjects:

ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	33
	OPEC	12
	UN	4
	Int. econ. rel.	4
	OAS	3
	FAO	3
	Andian Pact	1
	Raw materials	1
	total	61

VENEZUELA 1976

TOTAL 477 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

PUNTO	181
SEMANA	160
LA VERDAD	76
EL NACIONAL	54
LA REPUBLICA	2
REV. COL. ARABE	2
PROV. CUNANA	1
VARIEDADES	1
total	477

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	220
EUROPE	120
ARAB COUNTRIES	48
AFRICA	14
ASIA	13
NORTH AMERICA	13
SOUTH ATLANTIC	4
ORGANIZATIONS	45
total	477

VENEZUELA 1976 PART 2

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Argentina	36
	Chile	36
	Brazil	29
	Uruguay	22
	Colombia	20
	Peru	15
	Mexico	13
	Bolivia	12
	Panama	6
	Ecuador	5
	Cuba	3
	Others (6)	9
	Latin America	14
	total	220
EUROPE	Italy	56
	Portugal	30
	Spain	12
	Fed. Rep. of G.	6
	France	4
	Others (8)	12
	total	120
AFRICA	Angola	6
	Namibia	2
	Rhodesia	2
	South Africa	1
	Africa	3
	total	14

VENEZUELA 1976 PART 3

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	29
	Israel-Arabs	5
	Palestine	3
	Irak	3
	Libya	2
	Middle East	2
	Others (4)	4
	total	48
ASIA	China	11
	Philippines	1
	India	1
	total	13
NORTH AMERICA	USA	13
SOUTH ATLANTIC		4
ORGANIZATIONS	Non-aligned	16
	Andian Pact	9
	Int. Econ.	6
	OPEC	4
	OAS	4
	FAO	2
	Others	4
	total	45

CHILE 1976

TOTAL 290 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

EL TARAPACA	121
EL DIA	43
ULTIMAS NOTICIAS	33
EL CORREO	17
DECISION	14
LA PRENSA	13
LA SEGUNDA	12
MUNDO ARABE	9
ACTUALIDAD DE INTERN.	9
JEQUE	6
EL AUSTRAL	5
OTHERS	8
total	290

Subject areas:

EUROPE	149
LATIN AMERICA	105
ARAB COUNTRIES	10
NORTH AMERICA	8
ASIA	7
AFRICA	1
ORGANIZATIONS	10
total	290

CHILE 1976 PART 2

Subject countries:

EUROPE	Italy	111
	Fed. Rep. of Ger.	22
	United Kingdom	3
	Spain	3
	Yugoslavia	3
	Switzerland	2
	Others (5)	5
	total	149
LATIN AMERICA	Peru	19
	Argentina	18
	Mexico	18
	Brazil	12
	Colombia	8
	Panama	7
	Venezuela	6
	Guatemala	4
	Others (4)	8
	Latin America	5
	total	105
ARAB COUNTRIES	Palestine	3
	Israel-Arab conflict	1
	Others (6)	6
	total	10
NORTH AMERICA	USA	4
	Canada	4
	total	8

CHILE 1976 PART 3

Subject countries:

ASIA	China	4
	Israel	2
	Japan	1
	total	7
AFRICA	Angola	1
ORGANIZATIONS	UN	2
	FAO	2
	OPEC	1
	Andian Pact	1
	Multinationals	1
	C-A Econ. Comm.	1
	Raw materials	1
	Int. econ. rel.	1
	total	10

UNITED KINGDOM

TOTAL 127 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

THE NEWS LINE	64
THE GUARDIAN	59
FINANCIAL TIMES	3
THE OBSERVER	1
total	127

Subject areas:

ARAB COUNTRIES	115
LATIN AMERICA	12
total	127

Subject countries:

ARAB COUNTRIES	Libanon	109
	Palestine	3
	Syria	1
	Oman	1
	Israel-arabs	1
	total	115
LATIN AMERICA	Argentina	3
	Colombia	3
	Uruguay	1
	Brazil	1
	Chile	1
	Ecuador	1
	Peru	2
	total	12

PANAMA

TOTAL 29 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA	28
PANAMA-AMERICA	1
total	29

Subject areas:

LATIN AMERICA	20
ASIA	3
ARAB COUNTRIES	2
EUROPE	2
NORTH AMERICA	1
ORGANIZATIONS (OPEC)	1
total	29

Subject countries:

LATIN AMERICA	Brazil	4
	Uruguay	4
	Chile	4
	Argentina	2
	Others (2)	2
	Lat.Am.	4
	total	20
ASIA	Cambodia	1
	Japan	1
	South-East	1
ARAB COUNTRIES	Palestine	2
EUROPE	Spain	1
	Portugal	1
NORTH AMERICA	USA	1

BRAZIL

TOTAL 9 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

MOVIMIENTO	9

Subject countries:

Chile	2
Uruguay	2
Bolivia	1
Guatemala	1
Mexico	1
USA	1
Non-aligned	1
total	9

VATICAN

TOTAL 5 ARTICLES

Newspapers:

L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO	5

Subjects:

Argentina	2
Non-aligned	2
Sela	1
total	5

PARAGUAY

TOTAL IN 1976 3 ARTICLES

Newspaper:

LA TRIBUNA

Subjects:

Brazil
Italy
Spain

1974-75

El Sendero	published in 1974	26	articles
	in 1975	14	"
ABC	published in 1974	4	articles
	in 1975	0	"

SRI LANKA

TOTAL IN 1976 2 ARTICLES

Newspaper:

CEYLON DAILY NEWS

Subject:

Non-alligned countries
(conference in Colombo)

- articles had appr. the same content telling IPS support for the new information order etc.

YUGOSLAVIA, HUNGARY AND RUMANIA

In May 1977 the information concerning the publishing of Inter Press material in the newspapers of Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania was not yet available. According to IPS estimations, the material of the agency is used regularly in these countries (in Yugoslavia some 350-400 articles, in Hungary and Rumania some 175-200 articles each).

In 1975 Yugoslavian newspapers published 178 IPS articles during January-August. The articles published in September-December were not yet documented. In 1974 there were a total of 98 articles published in Yugoslavia.

In Hungary there were about ten articles in 1974-75. During 1974 in Rumania there was only one IPS article published, an interview of Party Leader Ceausescu in "Scinteia". In 1975 no articles were published (or could be documented by May) in Rumania.

URUGUAY

There were altogether 110 articles published in the newspapers of Uruguay in 1972-74. About 90 per cent of the IPS articles were published in "El Pueblo". During 1975 and 1976 no IPS material was published in the country.

TUNISIA

In 1976 the newspaper "La Presse' published two Inter Press reports, one dealing with "L'Ostpolitik du Venezuela" and one of the meeting of non-aligned countries. Tunisian newspapers began to receive IPS material in December 1976.

BELGIUM

Thirteen articles were published by Belgian newspapers in 1975. Articles were mainly reports from the events in Kurdistan and Iraq. During 1976 there were no articles.

SPAIN

The newspaper "Informaciones" has published about a dozen articles (on Chile, Cuba, Argentina and Laos) during the last few years. In 1976 there was no material from the Inter Press published in Spanish newspapers.

FRANCE

There were four IPS reports in French newspapers in 1976. "Liberacion" published an article on Angola, "Quotidien de Paris" a report from Argentina and an interview of Carvalho in Portugal and "Le Monde" a Carvalho interview. During 1972-75 there were some ten articles documented by IPS in French newspapers. Newspapers in France receive Inter Press material, but use it mainly as archive material.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

In 1976 there were one article in "Express Espanol". The distribution of IPS material in the Federal Republic begins officially during 1977.

THE NETHERLANDS

Official distribution of IPS material begins during 1977.